HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEK WASHINGTON REPORT

NEWSPAPER

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Will Voters Repudiate 89th Congress?

By THOMAS A. LANE

President Johnson has praised the 89th Congress as the greatest of them all. That is the way Caesar spoke of the Roman Senate after it had been shorn of power.

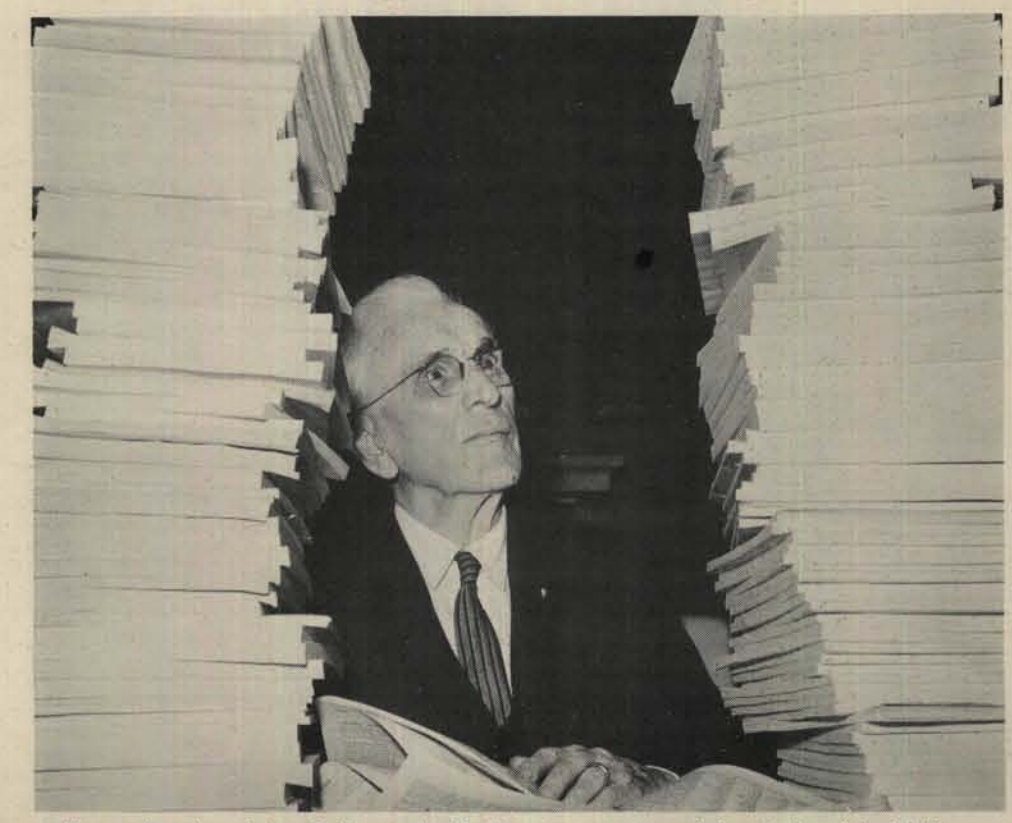
The 89th was the greatest rubber-stamp Congress in U.S. history. Only a couple of filibusters kept it from enacting the President's every wish. Look at the record.

Congress used to be a legislative body. It examined the needs of the government, heard the recommendations of the President and drafted appropriate legislation.

The 89th Congress was different. The executive took over legislative draftsmanship and told the Congress what the President wanted the law to be. The job of committee chairmen was to defend the executive demand from challenge in the Congress.

This legislation by executive mandate was an insult to the Congress. It lay down a party edict for the legislators to follow. A Congress sensible of its own high responsibility would have torn up the executive bills and deposited them in a waste basket. A legislative body writes its legislation after hearings are held and all evidence is received, not before.

This abdication of legislative responsibility has tended to undermine the whole structure of government. For example, the federal establishment had through the years won the confidence of the people through the high standards of integrity maintained by the federal civil service. Government funds were protected by strict regulations insuring their expenditure for the specific purposes designated by law. Administrators violating the regulations were subject to severe punishment.



House Speaker John McCormack (D.-Mass.) seems awed by stacks of legislation passed by Congress. He should be—the 89th Congress spent about $264 billion.

The 89th Congress effectively destroyed this confidence of the American people in the integrity of the federal government. Under the guise of concern for the poor, it enacted the most conscienceless raid on the U.S. Treasury ever attempted by political bandits. Today the American people expect the federal government to be as brazen and corrupt as ward politicians were a generation ago.

The Shriver organization is a political machine. It has contracted hundreds of millions of dollars to hastily improvised and administratively incompetent local bodies. The consequence has been a heinous diversion of federal funds to enrich the political partisans of the Administration. It is impossible to discern any benefit to the poor commensurate with the funds expended. Objectively, the program is one of colossal waste.

Congress is responsible. Of course the President wanted a few billion dollars to spend without the restraints imposed on normal appropriations. What politician wouldn't? It had long been the responsibility of the Congress to prevent by law and organization such maladministration of federal funds.

The regular departments of government working in cooperation with established state and local organs of government had the capacity to administer prudently and efficiently all the purposes of the poverty program. Congress deliberately ignored these competent organs of government and established a new bureau through which the spoils of patronage could be wrung from these federal funds.

The poverty program is not an exception. It is typical of the performance of a Congress which has corrupted the United States government at the behest of Caesar. Of course Caesar is pleased.

Date: November 8 - Issue: Sound, Constitutional Government

Chicago *Tribune*:

LBJ's Democratic 89th Congress, controlled by a lopsided 2-to-1 party majority, now comes home to face the voters. We hope it gets what it deserves at their hands.

The country has gone ever deeper into hock. The budget, in theory, was $112.8 billion—the first in history over $100 billion. To this was added $15.9 billion in supplemental appropriations, mostly for defense. Not counted, but there just the same, was $13.8 billion in permanent appropriations, mostly for the public debt. And still to come, on top of this total to date of $142.5 billion, is a supplemental appropriation of about $15 billion for the war in Viet Nam. Grand total, $157.5 billion.

But most of the new programs enacted carry an open-ended price tag. They don't start small, but they will keep snowballing in the years to come. So nobody, with any precision, can tote up the real bill . . . .

In [one week] the people will hand down their verdict.

David Lawrence in *U.S. News & World Report*:

The day of reckoning is at hand. On November 8 the American people can by their votes save constitutional government from demoralization, if not collapse . . . .

Some members of the majority party, to be sure, have sound judgment and a sensible approach to present-day problems. But voters must hold the party in power primarily responsible for our plight today. This is one way to apply a prompt check against the political aberrations of the executive departments.

The American people must, therefore, vote out of office the irresponsible majority which has been floundering as the national economy has wobbled. What is needed is a Congress dedicated to the principles of the Constitution and to lawmaking which will genuinely promote the welfare of the whole nation.

Cincinnati *Enquirer*:

If we may hazard an over-all assessment of the 89th Congress, we would be obliged to conclude that its most conspicuous characteristic was acquiescence.

It acquiesced not only in Mr. Johnson's specific legislative goals, but also—and far more alarmingly—in the relegation of Congress to a distinctly subordinate role in the federal establishment.

No one can survey the work of the 89th Congress and maintain—without tongue in cheek—that Congress has ranked during the past two years as an equal and co-ordinate branch of the federal government.

St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*:

The President calls the 89th Congress "the greatest ever." Well he might, for it was his doormat.

. . . Congress was a "Yes, sir, thank you, sir" body when it came to rubber-stamping virtually every request for outlandish spending which plunged this nation perilously close to financial insolvency. . . .

Though the President is not a candidate next week, all congressmen and about a third of the senators are. That will be the opportunity for the people to pass final judgment on their servants in Congress.

If the people are not thoroughly seduced and bemused by easy money —by taking from those who have and giving, politically, to those who have not without even the compensating satisfaction of seeing real progress towards just and honest goals achieved, or even with hope of success begun—then the judgment of the American people upon the 89th Congress may be harsh indeed.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● Chairman George H. Mahon (D.-Tex.) of the House Appropriations Committee says a tax increase is almost certain in 1967. Speaking to the Lubbock, Tex., Chamber of Commerce last week, he said that the "seeds of large and growing spending programs were sown" in the just-adjourned 89th Congress. Mahon claimed pressures for additional federal spending "will be all but impossible to resist" as a result of three programs: demonstration cities, anti-poverty and school aid.

● Returning American veterans from Viet Nam tell **Human Events** that Red Chinese, acting in the capacity of advisers, have been found in military units in the south.

● California Gov. Pat Brown attempts to smear Ronald Reagan as an "extremist," but the evidence is overwhelming that the governor's own party is honeycombed with leftist radicals. Consider state Rep. Charles Warren, California Democratic chairman. As a member of the state legislature in 1965 and 1966, Warren voted to repeal the loyalty oath for state employes and to permit 5th Amendment pleaders to teach at state colleges. He voted against measures that would make possession of LSD a crime, strengthen anti-riot statutes and make possession of Molotov cocktails a felony.

● California gubernatorial candidate Ronald Reagan received two boosts last week: another endorsement from former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who enthusiastically supported a Los Angeles **Times** editorial backing Reagan, and a statement by Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel that he has no intention of aiding Reagan in any way. Kuchel's "non-endorsement," say Reagan backers, is a blessing, since Kuchel has become highly unpopular in the Golden State.

● Insiders are saying that United Nations Ambassador Arthur Goldberg "wants out" and that LBJ is already looking for his successor.

● Politicos on Capitol Hill remain puzzled over LBJ's appointment of Sol Linowitz, a top Xerox executive, to be his new U.S. representative to the Organization of American States. Linowitz has no diplomatic experience, does not understand Spanish and is actually considered a "Bobby Kennedy" man because Bobby tried to recruit him to run for governor of New York. Some observers are speculating that Linowitz is being used to ward off attacks by Bobby on Lyndon's Latin policies.

● The liberal Washington **Post**, no friend of right-to-work, has denounced LBJ for vetoing Guam's law against compulsory unionism as a "rebuff to self-government." LBJ's actions, notes the **Post**, "flies in the face of wishes of the people of Guam as expressed through their legislature, which repassed the right-to-work bill over the veto of the appointed governor, Manual Guerrero. . . . The veto of Guam's wishes will seem to many to be the antithesis of the self-government and home rule that ought to be our objectives in the territories."

● Sen. Ted Kennedy (D.-Mass.), following in his brother's footsteps, came out flatly last week for the admission of Red China into the United Nations.

● Back from a 77-day trip which included talks with top Soviet Communists Leonid Brezhnev and Boris N. Ponomarev, Gus Hall last week urged an end to U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam and called for a coalition government in the south. Referring to domestic affairs, Hall, who is national secretary of the American Communist party, said he was impressed with the joint campaign by Mayor Lindsay and Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., the New York Liberal party's gubernatorial candidate, for a police review board. The review board's current chairman is Algernon Black, who has a long list of far-left activities.

● Bob Hope suggests that LBJ was highly uncomfortable on his recent flight from American Samoa to New Zealand. Tongue-in-cheek reason: The in-flight motion picture starred Ronald Reagan.

● A Democratic congressional candidate has called for the abolition of the so-called President's Club in which memberships sell for $1,000 and up. State Sen. Jerome Wilson, Democratic nominee in New York's 17th Congressional District, said that he had complete faith in Johnson's integrity, but added there must not be "even a shadow of an implication that the great office of the presidency can be approached more easily by one citizen than another."

● Federal officials are being encouraged by the White House to help elect Democrats around the country by soft-selling the programs of the "Great Society." The Department of Commerce has formally tagged this activity as "Operation Clearvoice." Other agencies have similar programs.

● A small band of ultra-liberal House Democrats is mapping a new drive against the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal (N.Y.), Don Edwards (Calif.), Robert Kastenmeier (Wis.), Donald Fraser (Minn.), Philip Burton (Calif.) and William Fitts Ryan (N.Y.) have held several strategy sessions and plan another for the last week in December, just before the new Congress meets. HCUA foes were cheered by the fact that 90 congressmen recently voted to recommit contempt proceedings against a Chicago leftist who had defied the committee.

● For many years Republican ballots in Michigan have carried the party emblem—which consisted of pictures of an American flag and Presidents Lincoln and Eisenhower. Old Glory will be on the 1966 ballot. So will Honest Abe. But Ike has been scratched—replaced by George Romney.

● Political observers were pop-eyed last week as a coalition of political, religious and labor leaders unveiled in New York a "freedom budget" which seeks to have the federal government spend $185 billion over the next 10 years to erase poverty. The plan, which envisions a guaranteed annual income and increased welfare payments across the board, is reportedly backed by Jacob Javits, Bobby Kennedy, Walter Reuther and Dr. Benjamin Spock. Washington lawmakers have hooted at the plan, especially because Dr. Leon Keyserling, a chief adviser to the program, maintains it can all be financed without a tax hike or a reduction in federal spending. Keyserling, it is noted with ironic smiles, was former chairman of Harry Truman's Council of Economic Advisers.

● Though military experts say it would be a disaster, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) has called for the United States and the Soviet Union to agree to an unpoliced ban on all atomic tests.

● A Republican congressional candidate in Philadelphia has disclosed that two ex-convicts hold positions of responsibility within the city's federally financed anti-poverty program. Walter T. Darmopray, GOP nominee in the city's 3rd Congressional District, disclosed that one of the two had been convicted of defrauding the U.S. government. The other was a convicted gambler.

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Munich in Manila?

LBJ's just-before-election trip to Manila may actually turn out to be a disaster for the United States and the free world forces, even though it may pick up votes for the image-conscious President who wants to parade before the voters in November as the "peace maker."

JOHNSON

Reports now coming in from Manila reveal that the "six-month" timetable set up for withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Viet Nam was largely inspired by Communist calls for evidence of American good faith. This has been confirmed by U.S. sources here in Washington. Diplomats of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and other Communist nations have been telling the United States for some time that North Viet Nam would never quit the war unless the United States presented some sort of plan for pulling out its troops.

Lyndon and his advisers, bowing to Red pressure, did exactly that at Manila. While the language had to be acceptable to the South Vietnamese, the Thais and the Koreans, the timetable still involved major concessions to the Communists.

The result was a proposal stating that "as the other side [North Viet Nam] withdraws its forces to the north, ceases infiltration and the level of violence thus subsides," the allied forces "will be withdrawn as soon as possible and not later than six months after the above conditions have been fulfilled."

This proposal, say diplomats, amounts to a major unilateral concession to the Communists because it pinpoints the exact time by which all American and allied forces would be removed. After the allies had removed their forces, tough-minded foreign experts are asking, what would prevent the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong from immediately re-infiltrating and renewing the warfare?

Hanson Baldwin, military editor for the New York *Times*, reports that any "withdrawal in the near future as that envisaged in the Manila communique implies to most [military] officers a delayed defeat for Saigon and for the United States."

According to the thinking of the military, says Baldwin, Saigon would still face guerrilla warfare and terrorism, with large areas unpacified.

Any withdrawal would mean the United States would have to abandon and thus leave open to guerrilla destruction the base camps, ports, roads, airfields and other installations which have become vital in the operations against the Communists.

"The proposal," says Baldwin, "was made at a time when approved programs called for an increase in United States troop strength in South Viet Nam to 425,000 by next spring, with further increases projected. . . .

"The military have envisaged increases of this size as essential if a military victory is to be given political meaning. The extra numbers would be needed, it is said, to provide a screen behind which pacification programs might be extended and expedited. So far pacification has made little progress. United States forces have scored victories against 'main force' Communist units, but the maintenance of firm control in a clear area is essential to pacification. This has meant large numbers of men. . . .

"Pacification in the south has barely started and the Viet Cong are thoroughly entrenched. Military leaders in Washington have always believed it would take more United States troops than are now in South Viet Nam to confirm a victory. Withdrawal now would mean to them defeat."

Hays' Anti-HCUA Outburst

There's an interesting story behind the broad-scale attack launched by Rep. Wayne Hays (D.-Ohio) against the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the closing days of Congress. While the House was considering contempt citations against three persons who had refused to give the committee testimony, the irascible Hays, an 18-year veteran, strongly implied that HCUA "bought" its witnesses.

As a prize exhibit, Hays charged that Phillip Abbott Luce, a former member of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Movement and a frequent contributor to *Human Events*, "got $1,000 from the Congress of the United States" just six days after testifying before HCUA. Hays left the clear impression that Luce

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

was a "kept" witness who gave out information only for large sums of money.

Though seemingly self-righteous, Hays' outburst was actually prompted by his anger with HCUA for a matter wholly unrelated to the Luce case.

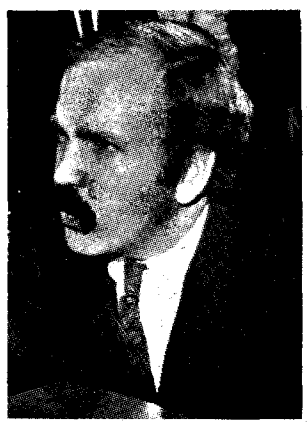
Back in June, Hays let it be known to some of his colleagues that he had it "in" for HCUA because the committee was terminating the employment of Walter B. Huber, a former Ohio lawmaker, who had been on the HCUA staff since 1959.

When Huber complained to his fellow Ohioan about being let go, Hays, who thought of Huber as "his man" with the committee, hit the ceiling and vowed to get even. As chairman of the contracts subcommittee of the House Administration Committee, Hays realized he had a hold over HCUA, since contracts between HCUA and outsiders have to be approved by this subcommittee.

At about the same time Hays made known his determination to settle the score with HCUA, the committee agreed to pay Luce to do a study on "ultra-revolutionary" groups. The contract for this work, which had not yet been begun, was submitted to the Hays subcommittee at least two months before Luce testified.

Normally, such contracts are approved in about one week, so when over two months went by without Hays' approval, both HCUA and Luce figured this contract was dead.

Since Luce did not have a contract, HCUA staff people felt no compunction about permitting Luce to give public testimony. Six days after Luce had testified—on August 22—Hays himself finally okayed the Luce contract.



Rep. Wayne Hays (D.-Ohio), left, has incorrectly implied that Phillip Abbott Luce was paid to testify before HCUA.

Why had he suddenly decided to approve it? Apparently, so he could contrive a case against HCUA.

Even though Hays himself was responsible for Luce getting any money after he had testified and even though Hays must have known that the contract had been submitted to him weeks before Luce took the stand, Hays decided to drum up some fireworks by implanting the false notion that HCUA had paid Luce a handsome sum to testify.

Luce, by the way, has received only $250 of the full $1,000 he will eventually get for his study, a report that will take at least 10 full weeks to compile. Hays, actually, should welcome the Luce monograph since it will deal with the revolutionary groups which ignited the riots in Cleveland earlier this year.

P.S. Huber, the man who apparently caused the Hays outburst, is now with the House Science and Astronautics Committee.

Reckless U.N. Vote

Another Katanga? That's what diplomatic experts think may be the result of the incredible action taken toward South Africa last week by the United Nations General Assembly.

The assembly, with the United States and the Soviet Union joining the majority, voted 114 to 2 to try to take over and run the government of South-West Africa, a territory South Africa has ruled since 1920 under a League of Nations mandate. (South Africa and Portugal voted against the resolution; the United Kingdom, France and Malawi, a neighbor of South Africa, abstained. Two other neighboring countries, Botswana and Lesotho, were marked "absent" on the final rollcall.)

In addition to "lifting" South Africa's mandate, the General Assembly established a 14-nation special committee to recommend practical means for U.N. administration of the territory and set a deadline of April 1967 for receiving the committee's report.

The move by the General Assembly last week has long been supported by militant African and Communist countries that have waged a concentrated campaign against South Africa for many years.

The vote, say knowledgeable experts, now paves the way for the world "peace" organization to take a broad range of actions – economic and military– against both South Africa and South-West Africa. Such pressures seem more than likely, since South Africa has already announced it will refuse to bow before this General Assembly ukase.

Moreover, the vote gives a special license to those revolutionary African groups which have long sought to overthrow South Africa. *Human Events* has often pointed to the fact that many U.N. member countries have been campaigning to get the United Nations to take drastic economic and military actions against South Africa in order to overthrow the present government.

Our June 26, 1965, front page contained an Allen-Scott report which revealed how militant African nations, in conjunction with Secretary-General U Thant, were attempting to use the South-West African issue as a means by which to whip up military activity against South Africa.

On July 17, page 4, we ran excerpts of a report prepared by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which mapped out the type of military maneuvers the United Nations might want to use against South Africa. Curiously enough, this report suggested that any U.N. military action would probably stem from troubles arising over South-West Africa.

What stuns many U.N. observers about the vote last week is that the General Assembly's action is considered totally illegal by experts on international law.

Only last July 18, the International Court of Justice, the principal judicial branch of the United Nations, dismissed a complaint by Ethiopia and Liberia which had asked the World Court to rule that the United Nations had supervisory authority over South Africa. (For detailed information on this case, the

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reader is advised to obtain the book, *South-West Africa,* by Thomas Molnar, Fleet Publishing Co., New York.)

Yet, in spite of this World Court ruling, the United Nations, with no authority, has decided to act illegally against a non-Communist, non-aggressive Western nation. And the United States, under Lyndon Johnson, has decided to support this reckless maneuver.

Strange 'Non-Strategic' List

When Congress reconvenes, conservative-minded lawmakers may be prompted to probe the list of goods that the Administration thinks are "non-strategic" and can be sent to the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites without any resulting harm to the United States.

The Administration has apparently confused the entire issue and reporters are unable to obtain satisfactory answers about the list.

Two spokesmen for the Department of Commerce, however, recently told *Human Events* that all items contained in the October 12 *Current Export Bulletin,* published by the Department of Commerce, are now considered non-strategic and are available for export to Communist countries. Here are just a few of the items listed in the *Bulletin:*

Diesel engines, jet engines, gear grinding machines, machine tools, flame cutting machines, equipment for production of liquid oxygen, compressors for jet, turbo-prop, turbo-shaft and gas turbine aircraft engines, ball and rolling bearings for aircraft, nuclear reactor fuel chopping, disassembling or dejacketing machines, military and non-military motor vehicles, military trucks, truck chassis, and truck tractors, military and non- military vehicles equipped with jacketed containers for transportation of liquefied gases. . . ; railway cars equipped with other jacketed containers of 500 gallons capacity or over for the transportation of liquefied gases, electrical-chemical and radioactive devices for the conversion of chemical energy to electrical energy, electron tubes, industrial beta, gamma and X-ray equipment.

Many of these items would be invaluable in aiding the Communists to increase their military strength, particularly in the area of missiles. Nevertheless, Department of Commerce sources say these goods are "non-strategic."

More Trouble for Saxon

James Saxon, controversial comptroller of the currency, received the bad news last month that President Johnson would not reappoint him when his five-year term runs out November 15. Even worse news followed:

Directors of a San Francisco bank that failed in February 1965 have accused Saxon of fraud and deceit and socked him with damage suits totalling $62 million. The directors claim that Saxon suppressed for nine months information on the criminal activities of the bank's president, Don C. Silverthorne. Silverthorne was subsequently convicted of misapplying bank funds and is appealing.

SAXON

J. W. Erlich, a nationally prominent attorney who served as a director of the defunct San Francisco National Bank, charged in his suit that Saxon deliberately prevented delivery of a bank examiner's letter, dated June 22, 1964, to United States Attorney Cecil F. Poole. Erlich said the examiner, Victor E. Del Tredici, wrote the letter to inform Poole of Silverthorne's criminal activities.

Less than a month later, Erlich contends, Saxon called the bank directors to a special meeting where he advised corrective practices but failed to disclose the bank's condition fully and completely.

"Had we known in June [when the examiner's letter was written] of a bank officer's criminal acts, we would have done something about protecting the bank," Erlich said. "We couldn't do it because we didn't know about it until February, nine months later."

Del Tredici's letter to Poole was not delivered until a month after the bank was closed. A second suit charging that Saxon "falsely and fraudulently and with intent to deceive" withheld the information about Silverthorne was filed by two other directors of the defunct bank, Carl M. McConnell and John A. Steel.

Kennedy on Decline?

Bobby Kennedy, the compulsive presidential candidate who has heretofore basked in friendly words from the Fourth Estate, has received some stinging criticism at the hands of reporters, columnists and even diplomats in recent weeks. Speculation is that Bobby's popularity, once thought to be high among voters, may begin to slip if these attacks on him continue undiminished.

KENNEDY

Former diplomat Ellis O. Briggs, who served as ambassador to four Latin countries, just two weeks ago assailed Bobby's trip to South America last fall, remarking that as a goodwill tour it was a disaster. Briggs was particularly irked because Kennedy had popped off about the Dominican crisis at the same time as American diplomats were trying to defuse the situation at a Pan American conference in Rio de Janeiro.

New York's junior senator committed another diplomatic gaffe last week when he was ostensibly campaigning in California for Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown. Speaking on the Berkeley campus in San Francisco, Kennedy remarked—while the delicate Manila conference was going on—that the people of South Viet Nam "don't want Gen. Ky" as their leader any more than they want the Communists. He also called for a cessation of bombing in the north.

Neither statement, it was observed, was calculated to aid American policy vis-à-vis the Communists or bolster the Gen. Ky government which the United States has decided to support. Nor could it have bolstered our diplomacy at the Manila conference.

Covering the Berkeley meeting for the Washington *Post*, columnist David Broder commented that Kennedy had engaged in a "hip-shooting display of verbal carelessness. . . .

"In its final uncomfortable moment, Kennedy stood mute at the microphone while hostile students booed the name of the President of the United States."

Noting that Bobby seemed to be campaigning harder for Bobby than for Brown, columnist William S. White joined the anti-Kennedy chorus. "To join publicly with the beatniks and peaceniks at Berkeley at an hour that President Johnson is attempting to forward the American position in a fateful Asian summit conference," said White, "is to embarrass not simply Brown and Johnson and the Democratic party, but rather the United States of America."

Both White and Broder remarked on the fact that former Vice President Nixon, partisan Republican though he is, refused to embroil himself in the Manila conference even though he was also campaigning hard in the Golden State.

The liberal Washington *Post* editorially sniped at Bobby: "Sen. Robert Kennedy was hardly constructive in his West Coast reproach to Ky. The debate over the general's political popularity and credentials might happily have been deferred during the Manila meeting."

While the *Post* and such respected columnists as Broder and White were zeroing in on the previously "untouchable Bobby" last week, so was the Scripps-Howard newspaper in Washington, which featured a highly unflattering portrayal of Bobby by columnist William F. Buckley Jr.

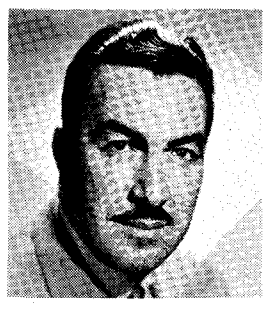
The most damaging indictment of Bobby in Buckley's article was this quotation from Peregrine Worsthorne, a prominent English writer and editor:

"Sen. Kennedy, in effect, is seeking to promote his own personal career by undermining faith in the very policies which President Johnson inherited from his murdered brother. The crucial decision—to escalate from advisers to combat troops—was President Kennedy's. For the senator to exploit its consequences to destroy his brother's successor might have struck Machiavelli as the epitome of princely conduct, but even he would not have imagined in his wildest fancies that such conduct could turn its practitioner into a popular hero."

With such vigorous assaults springing from many quarters, political observers now believe that Bobby's popularity could seriously decline.

Court vs. Powell

The State Appellate Division in New York has sentenced Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) to 30 days in jail and fined him $250 for his willful failure to comply with a lower court order which ruled against him in a slander judgment.



POWELL

Overruling a September 9 decision by a State Supreme Court justice, the 4-to-1 majority spoke of the "long and ugly record in this matter," adding:

"This failure to obey [a subpoena] is consistent with the debtor's cynical refusal to honor his own promises together with a total disregard of any and all process that has been served against him."

The court gave Powell until November 3 to appear before it and submit to a financial examination to purge himself of the contempt conviction. This is the third civil contempt finding against Powell in connection with a $164,000 slander judgment won by Mrs. Esther James, a Harlem widow whom Powell described three years ago on a television program as a "bag woman" (graft collector).

Two earlier arrest orders are out against Powell for civil contempt, but they do not specify a sentence. Last October 10 a State Supreme Court jury convicted Powell of criminal contempt. No sentence has been handed down on that conviction.

Buying Your Vote

In a front-page story on Sept. 4, 1965, *Human Events* warned the reader that the LBJ Administration was speeding tax dollars into the districts of freshman Democrats to help them get re-elected this November. LBJ has high hopes for these freshmen, since they have provided him with the necessary majority to put over his "Great Society" measures.

Just how successful the Administration has been in stuffing tax dollars into the districts of privileged freshman Democrats was recently revealed by Rep. John R. Hansen, himself a freshman Democrat from Iowa.

In the *Congressional Record* of October 14, Hansen inserted two full pages of material showing how much money he had been able to "secure" for the voters in his district. The total, broken down county by county, amounted to more than $230 million.

HANSEN

Claiming that his district has received "unprecedented benefits," Hansen went on to say: "It has been a great satisfaction for me to have been responsible for securing a full measure of federal funds, projects and programs for the benefit and advancement of southwest and western Iowa."

Biggest item: $168,708,917 for farm programs. Other large items: senior citizen housing for Fremont County, $450,000; consumer service for Crawford County, $527,526; FHA for Cass County, $1,-114,700; FHA for Mills County, $373,630; etc.

The total Hansen figure amounted to more than $650 for every man, woman and child in the district.

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Wars Are for Winning

Can We Afford Viet Cong Sanctuary in Cambodia?

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Saigon, Viet Nam:—Last summer Gen. "Swede" Larsen, just back from Viet Nam, was invited to make some comments to the press at the Pentagon's noon briefing. He bluntly said that Viet Cong divisions were using "neutral" Cambodia as a sanctuary.

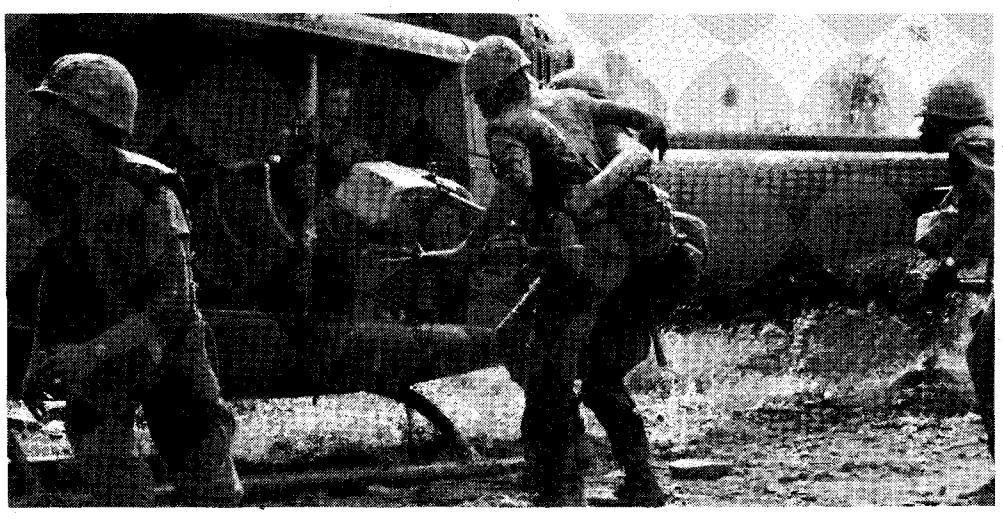
The State Department hit the ceiling. The general, like Galileo, was forced to recant. Another hurried press conference was called at which the general lamely stated that intelligence available to higher echelons of authority did not agree with his "estimate." Someone should have called in Gen. McAuliffe, the hero of Bastogne, to holler, "Nuts!"

I haven't seen a situation map in Viet Nam that hasn't pinpointed the location of major Viet Cong forces regrouping and retraining on the Cambodian side.

On page 14 of the U.S. Handbook for Armed Forces in Viet Nam the Viet Cong fighting philosophy is described as: "When the enemy advances, withdraw; when he defends, harass; when he is tired, attack; when he withdraws, pursue."

The obvious countermove for a force with superior firepower is to chase the enemy until he drops and if, at a future time, this outfit gathers to regroup, hit it hard before it gets organized.

But we are fighting a war in Viet Nam with our entire flank exposed. Any time a VC battalion is chewed up it can gallop across the Cambodian border and, not only must we not chase it, we must officially pretend it didn't escape at all.



A wounded GI is helped aboard a helicopter after a fight with the Viet Cong. The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regulars enjoy a priveleged sanctuary in Cambodia.

Why? In Heaven's name, why?

Strictly not for attribution, they'll tell you this in Saigon: It is possible that if we don't push Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk, he'll come around. A year ago he was blowing a tuba in the VC band. Since then he's showing signs of having second thoughts. He only has a small army, and besides he may not really know where these Cong outfits are.

Didn't a party of dedicated left-wingers, headed by Floyd McKissick of CORE, tour several kilometers on the Cambodian side a few weeks ago and report positively that the belief that the VC are using Cambodia as a sanctuary exists only in the fevered minds of right-wing extremists?

Besides (goes the argument), we must pay attention to "world opinion." If we moved across into Cambodia to clobber the Cong the tears from the United Nations would raise the East River two feet.

But the American soldier who is killed by a VC regiment striking in from Cambodia is a very dead boy. There's not much future in standing around letting the enemy pick the time and place to hit you, particularly when, after you've taken your casualties and got him running, your pursuit comes to a screeching halt when he hoists a King's-X flag from a "neutral" flagpole.

The Communist technique of throwing a peaceful people into confusion and despair by assassinating village chiefs is already afoot in eastern Thailand. Is Cambodia going to be a sanctuary for a Red war against the Thais if the effort to conquer Viet Nam fails?

Sure, everytime we do anything that makes military sense we'll get a blizzard of dead cats for "escalating" the war.

The Russians and their puppets would like to see us bleed as long as possible. The newly independent African and Asian nations, with colonialism a fresh memory, look with suspicion on any largely white army shooting at people with colored skins.

There's the cheer-for-the-underdog complex that sees the brave little Viet Cong David standing against the huge American Goliath. There are sincere Americans who feel that this is the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time. The British, having lost their empire, are now more isolationist than the late Col. McCormick. Gen. de Gaulle sounds like a man who can't stand the thought of the Americans winning where the French lost.

In addition, we've got our own hard-core fellow-travelers, entrenched in colleges, church organizations and the press, who are trying to sound like millions. Not since the Tories of Revolutionary days has America contained such an open Fifth Column. We never had parades of people offering to send blood to Sitting Bull, the Kaiser or Adolf Hitler.

And, finally, there are the Nervous Nellies who fear we'll stir up Mao. Mao is riding the biggest paper tiger in modern history, a nation with a runaway population, marginal food and now rendered chaotic by youth gangs. If Mao had the stuff, he'd hit us regardless of any appeasement. Give him credit. He had said so.

We are at war. If we are going to fight it gently in order to please Oxford societies and witch doctors in striped pants, let's pull out, for American lads are dying magnificently, but dying just the same. And if we're going to stay in, let's win it.

Hell, yes, the Viet Cong are using Cambodia. And instead of shushing "Swede" Larsen, the State Department ought to send a note to Phnom Penh that drops the "Your Excellency," and says, simply, "Look, Buster. If you can't get 'em out, we will."

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Warning for Americans

Socialism in Saskatchewan

(From an address by the Hon. W. Ross Thatcher, premier of Saskatchewan, before the Edison Electric Institute in San Francisco, June 8. This digest of Mr. Thatcher's remarks originally appeared in the October issue of PG&E Progress, *published by the Pacific Gas and Electric Co.)*

Saskatchewan for 20 years—from 1944 to 1964—had a Socialist government—about the only one in North America, except Castro's.

In 1944 the Socialists said they would solve the unemployment problems by building government factories. They promised to use the profits to build highways, schools, hospitals and to finance better social welfare measures generally. Over the years they set up 22 so-called crown corporations. I wish that time permitted me to tell you of the fiasco that followed.

By the time we had taken over the government, 24 months ago, 12 of the crown corporations had gone bankrupt or been disposed of. Others were kept operating by repeated and substantial government grants.

During the whole period the Socialists waged war against private business. The making of profits was condemned as an unforgivable sin. What was the result? Investors simply turned their backs on the Socialists. Dozens of oil companies pulled up stakes and moved out. Gas exploration ground to a complete halt. Prospecting in our vast north became almost non-existent.

During the period Canada was experiencing the greatest economic boom in her history, Saskatchewan received only a handful of new factories. After 18 years of socialism there were fewer jobs in manufacturing than existed in 1945—this despite the investment of $500 million in crown corporations.

The Socialists promised a greatly expanded program of social welfare measures: there was to be "free" medical care, "free" hospitalization care, "free" drugs and so on. The money to finance these projects was to come from the profits of the crown corporations. Of course, in the over-all picture, there were no profits—rather, there were colossal losses. Thus the welfare program had to be financed from taxation.

During the period more than 600 completely new taxes were introduced; 650 other taxes were increased. "Per capita" taxes in Saskatchewan were soon substantially out of line with our sister provinces—one more reason why industry located elsewhere.

Twenty years ago the Socialists promised to make Saskatchewan a Mecca for the working man. Instead, we saw the greatest mass exodus of people out of an area since Moses led the Jews out of Egypt. Since the war, 270,000 of our citizens left Saskatchewan to find employment elsewhere.

Finally our people decided they had been the Canadian guinea pig for socialism long enough. They threw them out.

It is the task of our new government to prove in the next few years that the private enterprise system can do more for our people than socialism.

If there are any Americans who think that socialism is the answer, I wish they would come to Saskatchewan and study what has happened to our province.

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RACES of the WEEK

This is the final installment of this pre-election feature. Unable to report on every race, we hope the 74 close contests we selected during the past weeks have given our readers a good general view of political activity this year.

Iowa's 7th District

Scherle vs. Hansen

Whether the high-powered PR campaign can re-elect Hansen is doubtful. Republican William J. Scherle, a 43-year-old Henderson farmer, has conducted a vigorous campaign in the traditionally GOP district.

Social Security was enacted into law in 1935, three decades before John R. Hansen came to Congress. But as the Iowa Democrat seeks re-election, he boldly claims credit for the Social Security dollars received by his constituents. The 65-year-old Hansen rode the coattails of Lyndon Johnson two years ago. As a freshman congressman he has given the Administration undeviating support.

SCHERLE

An obscure businessman who was trounced when he sought Iowa's lieutenant governorship in 1960, Hansen has gone to incredible lengths to convince 7th District voters of the federal "benefits" he has brought them. Scarcely a day goes by that Hansen does not use the government frank to mail glowing press releases to 200 newspapers in his district. A bi-weekly news letter goes to 2,500 "opinion-molders" throughout the district and another 125,000 constituents receive "personal reports" several times a year.

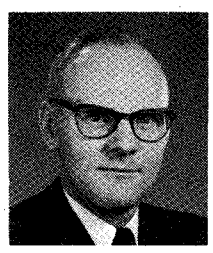
Scherle says Congress should cut "ridiculously wild spending and establish a sound fiscal policy." He hits Hansen's rubber-stamp support of Administration boondoggles and centers much of his fire on the anti-poverty program. ("The costs have been prohibitive, programs have overlapped, local control has been bypassed and extremely high salaries have been paid administrative personnel.")

Scherle has made the LBJ farm program a major issue in the largely agricultural district. Former Vice President Richard Nixon, who campaigned in Council Bluffs for Scherle, drew cheers when he linked Hansen to LBJ and the monumentally unpopular secretary of agriculture, Orville Freeman. (Scherle for Congress Committee: Henderson, Iowa.)

North Dakota's 2nd District

Kleppe vs. Redlin

Only twice have North Dakota voters failed to send a Republican to Congress. Democrats captured the 1st District seat in 1958, but lost it two years later. Democrat Rolland Redlin won the 2nd District seat in 1964 and hopes to win a second term this fall.



KLEPPE

But the odds are steep. Redlin was elected on the coattails of Lyndon Johnson, a President who would today win no popularity contests on the prairies of western North Dakota. As a correspondent for the Washington *Post* wrote recently from Minot:

"The talk around the state's political hitching posts is of inflation, the land war in Viet Nam, racial unrest in big cities and 'Great Society' 'give-away' programs. And the President, who took 58 per cent of the vote here in 1964, is blamed for just about everything that voters . . . figure is wrong at home and abroad."

Republican nominee Thomas Kleppe repeatedly ties Redlin to the Administration, noting the freshman Democrat took his cue from the White House on such vital issues as 14b, aid to education, House rules, rent subsidies, the "War on Poverty" and creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

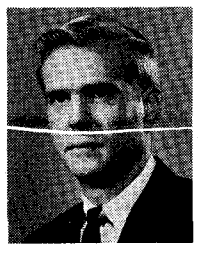
Redlin, who describes himself as a "North Dakota dirt farmer," is receiving substantial backing from out-of-state labor groups (Redlin's COPE rating: 92).

Kleppe, a former Bismarck mayor who ran a losing race for the Senate two years ago, has campaigned energetically, hitting Redlin's ultra-liberal voting record. But Redlin is an effective campaigner and the race is close. A mid-September poll gave Redlin a lead of 2 percentage points with 14 per cent of the voters undecided. (Kleppe for Congress Committee: 233 Divide Avenue, Bismarck, N.D.).

Wisconsin's 6th District

Steiger vs. Race

At 28, Bill Steiger is a veteran of six years in the Wisconsin state legislature. At 29, he is likely to be the youngest freshman in the 90th Congress.



STEIGER

Steiger, an articulate young graduate of the University of Wisconsin, is the Republican nominee in the Badger State's 6th Congressional District. He faces incumbent Democrat John Race, a Fond du Lac machinist elected in the Johnson landslide in 1964.

Race squeaked in with 50.7 per cent of the vote, running more than nine percentage points behind LBJ. The 6th District has been traditionally Republican and in the last off-year election, 1962, the GOP captured 59.9 per cent of the vote.

Unseating Race will be no easy task, however. The freshman Democrat has returned to the district on all but four weekends during 1966 and is an indefatigable campaigner. He is the recipient of massive aid from organized labor, which gave him a near-perfect voting record for the 89th Congress. (Race is a former union president, a fact he curiously neglects to mention in his *Who's Who* and *Congressional Directory* biographies.)

Steiger, a highly effective campaigner, has been endorsed by former Vice President Richard Nixon and former Congressman Walter Judd, both of whom entered the district to stump in his behalf. The GOP nominee is making the high cost of living and the Administration's farm program major issues.

Iowa's 4th District

Kyl vs. Bandstra

Bert Bandstra is a typical member of what the Capitol press corps calls the class of '64. A little-known lawyer making his first race for public office, Bandstra ran nearly 40,000 votes behind Lyndon Johnson and still managed to capture a Republican House seat two years ago.

KYL

Bandstra has demonstrated his gratitude time and again. Not once during the second session of the 89th Congress did he oppose the Administration on a major bill, reports the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly*.

Bandstra faces John Kyl, the man he narrowly defeated in 1964. Kyl served five years in Congress, racking up a solid conservative voting record (ACA rating: 89).

Bandstra is the recipient of all-out support from organized labor, whose political strategists give him a perfect 13-for-13 voting record during the 89th Congress. Kyl, in contrast, is reported by COPE to have cast "anti-labor" votes on 24 of 29 rollcalls during his five years in Washington. Bandstra voted to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, thereby striking down the Iowa right-to-work law that polls indicate has the overwhelming support of Iowans in both parties. Kyl has pledged support of 14b.

Bandstra has predicated his campaign on one issue, that he can get more for his constituents. He recites the federal projects that have come to the district during the past two years and warns ominously that the largess will cease if Kyl is elected. The GOP nominee maintains that federal funds flow no matter who is in Congress and points to the 110 projects that have in the past two years gone to the district represented by H. R. Gross, Iowa's only Republican congressman and a fierce critic of the Administration. (Kyl for Congress Committee: 208 W. North, Bloomfield, Iowa).

Well aware of polls indicating massive dissatisfaction with the Johnson Administration, Race is running as an "independent, moderate Democrat." He is the only member of the Wisconsin congressional delegation to oppose the 1966 civil rights bill and courts backlash votes with the same slogan—"Your home is your castle"—used by Democrat George Mahoney in Maryland.

Race continually harps on Steiger's youth. The GOP nominee merely notes that at 28 he has served six years in elective office, which is four more than Race has at the age of 52. (Steiger for Congress Committee: 684 Oak Street, Oshkosh, Wis.)

Georgia's 7th District

Chapin vs. Davis

Little-known and under-financed, Ed Chapin gave Rep. John Davis (D.-Ga.) the scare of his political life two years ago. Unawed by the 3-to-1 margins by which Davis won in 1960 and 1962, Chapin campaigned energetically and received more than 45 per cent of the vote. His 57,562 votes were the largest ever polled by a Republican congressional candidate in Georgia. ("Bo" Callaway, victorious in the state's 3rd Congressional District, received 45,145 votes.)

CHAPIN

Chapin, a Lookout Mountain businessman, is again opposing Davis. From early morning till late at night, the GOP nominee is meeting voters, on farms, in gas stations, factories and shopping centers. He meets from 800 to 1,000 voters every day, estimates that he will have shaken more than 125,000 hands by election day.

Chapin, an articulate young conservative, hits hard at Davis' voting record, labeling him an Administration flunky. Davis concedes he is not a conservative, but claims to consider legislation on its "practicality."

Among the Administration programs Davis found "practical" during the past session of Congress: rent subsidies, federal aid to education, the Teachers Corps, increased minimum wage and the Participation Sales Act.

Chapin's campaign is aimed at those voters who have long felt "disenfranchised" because there was "no use in fighting the Democratic organization." An aide explains: "In a district which has become increasingly industrial and suburban, Ed's youth [43] and vitality have great appeal. His near-win in 1964 has given rise to enthusiastic confidence among his supporters that he can win in '66."

The confidence is manifest in the Callaway-Chapin headquarters that dot the district. Davis realizes he is in trouble. Despite a sharp increase in the district population, the number of votes he polled actually declined from 1960 to 1964. During this same period the number of GOP votes more than doubled. (Chapin for Congress Committee: P.O. Box 490, Rossville, Ga. 30741.)

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Michigan's 7th District

Riegle vs. Mackie

Democrat John Mackie carried Michigan's 7th Congressional District by nearly 2 to 1 in 1964, racking up a plurality of more than 49,000 votes. But success went to his head and the supremely confident Mackie now finds his re-election very much in doubt.

RIEGLE

"Taking the heavy Flint labor vote for granted, his staff is disorganized, careless, makeshift and unimaginative," reports Detroit *Free Press* Washington correspondent Saul Friedman. "Mackie has not yet opened a downtown office in Flint, his congressional office is in an out-of-the-way location, and his staff members do not have at their fingertips those crucial bits of information a candidate needs."

Mackie's Republican opponent, 28-year-old Don Riegle, has conducted a highly effective campaign in which he pledges to represent the "forgotten man"—the 7th District taxpayer.

"The individual citizen wants lean, efficient, minimum government," Riegle maintains. "He wants to stand firm against communism without surrender and without a 10-year war." The GOP nominee has hit hard at runaway inflation, the inability of the Johnson Administration to win the war in Viet Nam and crime in the streets.

He rips, too, Mackie's lackluster congressional record. On one hand, Mackie voted the White House line on 88 per cent of the 89th Congress' major rollcalls. On the other, he missed 89 per cent of the hearings of his only committee, the House Agriculture Committee.

Riegle has succeeded in unifying his party and has the support of both the Romney forces and those of former Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield. He is the only congressional candidate outside California to get the help of Spencer and Roberts, the highly touted public relations firm that is running the Ronald Reagan campaign. (Riegle for Congress Committee: 2126 Pierce St., Flint, Mich.)

Ohio's 24th District

Lukens vs. Pelley

The issues in Ohio's newly created 24th Congressional District are sharply defined. Republican Donald (Buz) Lukens is an outspoken conservative, Democrat James Pelley an Administration apologist on all issues except Viet Nam —where he lines up with other members of the Democratic party's "peace bloc" to denounce U.S. policy.

LUKENS

The 35-year-old Lukens is a former Air Force captain who entered the political arena in 1961, when he ran for, and captured, the presidency of the District of Columbia Young Republicans. An aide to the late Rep. Clarence Brown (R.-Ohio), Lukens then ran for the presidency of the National YR Federation and won as a fervent backer of Barry Goldwater.

Lukens returned home to southwestern Ohio a year ago to organize a campaign the experts said he couldn't win. The Republican congressional nomination, they said, would go to a veteran state legislator well-known throughout the district. Lukens conducted a smashing campaign and when the votes were counted he had captured the party's nomination.

Democrat Pelley, a 57-year-old professor at Ohio's Miami University, is making his first try for public office. He has tried hard to pin the "extremist" label on Lukens, but polls indicate he has failed. A recent survey gave the GOP nominee more than 60 per cent of the vote. (Lukens for Congress: 4728 Primrose Lane, Middletown, Ohio.)

If elected, Lukens will be the second YR chairman sent to Congress from Ohio. Seventeenth District Rep. John Ashbrook served as YR chairman from 1957 to 1959 and was first elected to Congress in 1960.

Lukens' seat is one of four Ohio Republicans feel they can pick up. Democratic incumbents in the 1st, 3rd and 10th Districts are in trouble and Ashbrook is thought to have pulled out in front of his opponent, Rep. Bob Secrest (D.-Ohio).

Colorado's 3rd District

Enoch vs. Evans

When Frank Evans ran for Congress two years ago, he adopted a campaign strategy that proved successful for other hopefuls throughout the country. He clung tightly to the coattails of Lyndon Johnson and wound up in Washington as the President swept Colorado's 3rd Congressional District by 41,416 votes.

ENOCH

Evans' margin was considerably less—3,860 votes, in fact, over veteran Rep. J. Edgar Chenoweth. Two years later, as Evans seeks a second term, the 3rd District appears ready to revert to its traditionally Republican status.

Republicans have nominated David Enoch, a Colorado Springs judge who stepped down from the bench to make the race. Enoch, a staunch conservative, is denouncing both Evans and the Administration he so faithfully serves (the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* reports that Evans failed to oppose the White House on a single major rollcall during the past year).

Enoch accuses "Great Society" planners, from LBJ on down, of "assaulting the free enterprise system . . . operating under an unbalanced budget . . . [fanning] the fires of inflation, and . . . [refusing] to identify and support a consistent foreign policy, thereby directly and indirectly encouraging our enemies and confusing our friends and allies."

The GOP nominee appears to have struck a responsive chord with 3rd District voters. A Denver *Post* survey in early October gave Enoch 63 per cent of the vote among the voters most likely to go to the polls on election day.

The Democratic lawmaker is a liberal ideologue who refused to sign the annual declaration of the Committee of One Million opposing Red China's admission to the United Nations. (Enoch for Congress Committee: 9 El Encanto Drive, Colorado Springs, Colo.)

Minnesota's 6th District

Zwach vs. Olson

No one can call Rep. Arnold Olson (D.-Minn.) inflexible.

ZWACH

On May 10 the House took up a $20-million appropriation for the Administration's controversial rent subsidy program. White House lobbyists had miscalculated, and when the roll was tallied the measure had fallen short. The presidential lieutenants jumped into action, pressuring four Democrats to change their votes from nay to present. Among the turncoats: Arnold Olson.

Olson later explained that he had changed his vote as a "favor" to the President. There is little doubt the Minnesota Democrat was indebted to Johnson. LBJ carried Olson's district by 46,864 votes in 1964, providing the congressman with a victory margin of 6,620.

Two years earlier, Olson had been elected to a first term by 348 votes out of more than 150,000 cast.

Olson faces a tough fight for re-election. Republicans have nominated John M. Zwach, a veteran state legislator who resigned as majority leader of the Minnesota State Senate to make the race. Since July Zwach has campaigned 16 hours a day, shaking hands and meeting voters. He has labeled Olson an Administration "rubber stamp" whose votes have helped put over "radical" legislation of the "Great Society."

The 6th District is largely agricultural and Zwach has been sharply critical of Olson's support of the Administration's farm program. (Zwach for Congress Committee: Walnut Grove, Minn.)

Illinois' 23rd District

Jones vs. Shipley

Out-of-state labor funds are pouring into Illinois' 23rd Congressional District, where Democrat George Shipley seeks a fifth term. Labor's interest in Shipley is understandable: The 39-year-old lawmaker has cast 42 key votes in his eight years in Washington, all but three of them considered "pro-labor" by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education.

JONES

Shipley was re-elected two years ago with 54.6 per cent of the vote and subsequent redistricting is thought to have strengthened his position. But State Rep. Leslie Jones, Shipley's Republican opponent, points out that GOP state candidates carried the counties which make up the new district in 1962. Recent polls indicate that the Republican ticket, headed by senatorial hopeful Chuck Percy, will run strongly in this downstate area.

"There are signs of a tremendous distrust of President Johnson," Jones maintains. "People are frightened and unhappy. If Johnson was up this year [he received more than 57 per cent of the vote two years ago], they'd beat the daylights out of him."

Shipley's close identification with the Administration has become a central issue in the campaign. The Democratic lawmaker went down the line for such controversial "Great Society" proposals as the "War on Poverty," rent subsidies, public power and repeal of 14b.

Jones maintains that Shipley is "out of touch" with the district. He points to the congressman's vote against a bill designed to alleviate a box car shortage that has severely handicapped area farmers in moving their crops to market. Shipley was the only Illinois congressman to oppose the bill, Jones notes in talks to farm groups. (Jones for Congress Committee: Route 2, Flora, Ill.)

New York's 5th District

Brennan vs. Tenzer

New York's 5th Congressional District was a Republican stronghold for decades. Until 1964, no Democrat had ever represented the district in Washington and Republican candidates racked up majorities of 55 per cent and more without campaigning. But Lyndon Johnson carried the district by 52,820 votes, and provided the winning margin for Democratic congressional hopeful Herbert Tenzer. A political novice, Tenzer came to Washington and took his cue from White House lobbyists. Not once during the 89th Congress did he oppose the President on a major piece of legislation, according to the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly*.

BRENNAN

A member of the House Judiciary Committee, Tenzer used government funds for a month-long junket that took him around the world at the close of Congress' first session. Tenzer conducted "committee business" in England, Poland, Italy, Israel, Thailand, Hong Kong and Japan.

When the second session ended late last month, Tenzer passed up another junket to return home and campaign for re-election. He faces a tough opponent in Thomas M. Brennan, a former vice president of the National Association of Businessmen who is making Viet Nam and inflation the top issues in his campaign. The GOP nominee asserts the United States is fighting the Viet Nam war "on Ho Chi Minh's terms" and urges the President to "unshackle" his field commanders.

Brennan has hit hard at "Great Society" inflation and Tenzer's "indifference" to the soaring cost of living. The freshman Democrat maintains blandly that inflation is nothing to worry about. (Brennan for Congress Committee: 47 Dogwood Lane, Rockville Center, N.Y.)

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Why All the Secrecy About DSG?

A behind-the-scenes report on the Democratic Study Group, the publicity-shy liberal organization that virtually controlled the U.S. House during the 89th Congress

By DONALD J. LAMBRO

"The 89th Congress became the DSG Congress," gleefully notes the ultra-liberal National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC)—and not without reason. For above anything else, it was the Democratic Study Group that gave Lyndon Johnson most of his legislative victories, from Medicare to rent supplements.

Though little known to the general public and working behind a veil of secrecy, the DSG will again be the dominant force in Congress next year unless the voters make some major changes November 8.

There has been much mystery regarding this organization's activities and a complete unwillingness to disclose its programs and membership. But through extensive research and study of all the available material and through countless conversations and interviews with Capitol Hill observers and House aides, this writer has been able to find out the following about the Democratic Study Group:

- It is an organization composed of members of Congress who are extremely reluctant to make public their affiliation and participation with the group.
- It is an organization whose staff director candidly admitted that ". . . some people would pay a great deal of money to know what our plans are this year."
- It is an organization which appears to be in violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act through its failure to properly disclose its role in giving money to House candidates.
- It is an organization that is inextricably involved—politically and financially—with the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) and Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers, as well as several other liberal organizations.
- And finally, but most importantly, it is, as the NCEC claims, "the driving force behind" passage of most of the important "Great Society" measures: the Appalachia programs, immigration reform, Medicare, rent subsidies, Social Security expansion. Even the 1964 and 1965 civil rights bills were largely the work of this secretive group.

DSG's activity, however, has not stopped at the House Democratic cloakrooms, for it has for the last six months or so conducted a "revolutionary" program to increase liberal representation in the House by even greater margins.

New Phenomenon

Why has such an important group received so little publicity? Perhaps the best answer comes from an astute political observer here in Washington who says DSG is a "new phenomenon in congressional history . . . still relatively unnoticed by the political science community."

Despite its comparative newness, however, the group does come complete with elected officers, legislative committees, regional chairmen, letterhead, brochures, booklets—all the components of a typical high-pressure lobbying organization.

Mr. Lambro, former editor of the New Guard, *the magazine of Young Americans for Freedom, is now a free-lance writer living in Washington, D.C.*

By the officers' own estimates, though the actual membership is still kept a secret, the group has "approximately 180 members." And it operates out of an expansive set of well-appointed offices in Room 523 of the Cannon House Office Building.

But in order to understand what DSG is, how it came about, and its meaning and importance, a review of its history is necessary.

Two former Democratic congressmen, now serving in the Senate, played significant roles in the formation of the Democratic Study Group: Lee Metcalf of Montana and Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota. These two men joined forces with a group of liberal Democrats in the 83rd Congress to defeat some supposedly anti-conservation legislation.

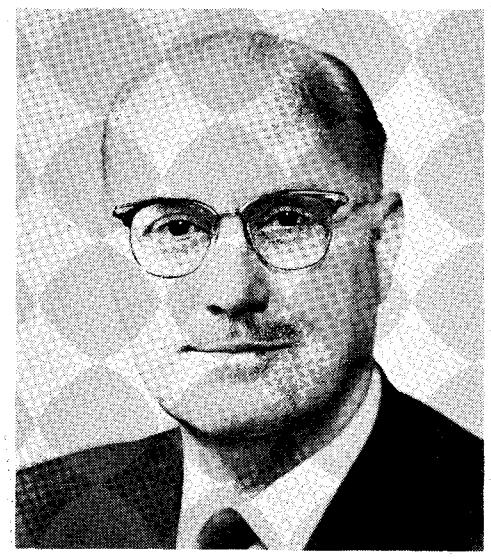
This group went on in much the same informal way for several years, until finally, after the 1956 elections, they met formally to discuss how best to strengthen their position in the House.

'Liberal Manifesto'

From this meeting came the "Liberal Manifesto," a legislative program for House Democrats outlining a myriad of domestic and international problems and asking for expanded federal activity through appropriate legislation.

The "Manifesto" was released to the press on Jan. 8, 1957, and included the signatures of 28 Democrats in the House. But when Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. of New Jersey placed the liberal "doctrine" in the *Congressional Record,* there were over 80 names.

During the following months this group of 80 or so House liberals, through the combined efforts of Frank

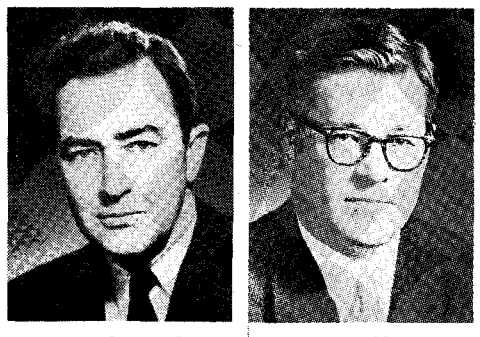


Rep. Chet Holifield (D.-Calif.), a former head of the DSG, is chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Thompson and Eugene McCarthy, set up a whip system in the House and communicated through assistant whips to sympathetic colleagues.

This whip system worked hand in glove with the Majority leadership, and still does, with members answering two calls to the House floor: DSG's and Carl Albert's (House majority leader).

By the 1958 election, the group had begun to focus its attention less on legislative matters and more on helping liberal Demoeratic candidates for the House by providing research facilities, speech materials, facts and voting statistics on Republican incumbents.



When Sens. Eugene McCarthy (Minn.) and Lee Metcalf (Mont.) were in the House, they started the movement which is now known as the Democratic Study Group.

A letter was sent out on Metcalf's stationery to some 90 such Democratic candidates offering assistance.

Over 50 responded. Thirty-five were elected and a majority of them subsequently became members of the group.

This kind of activity by a liberal House group—operating its own campaign committee—was a political first. For the first time a select group of Democratic members of the House sought to elect other liberal representatives and thereby weld themselves into a position of power in Congress.

The "DSG Campaign Handbook," which was put together much later, has proved to be, according to one Capitol Hill observer, "the most valuable single aid to Democratic candidates around the country that has come out of Washington in recent years."

Name Selection

The passage in 1959 of the Landrum-Griffin bill on union abuses, opposed vehemently by Big Labor leaders, did more to activate members of the group than any other single issue. Many liberal Democrats thought they were being given poor leadership and complained about not being able to muster their strength on the floor at the right time.

They decided to organize more formally, increase their communications and widen the group's influence where it counted the most: the floor of the House. Speaker Sam Rayburn was alerted to their plans and gave his approval.

Several planning meetings were held, a formal organization set up and the name "Democratic Study Group" chosen. The members were careful not to use words such as "liberal" or "action" in their name, because they believed such terms would help align them too closely with ADA - type organizations and the "adverse connotations" such words held for many members of Congress.

Rules Revolution

The DSG released a letter to the press on Dec. 21, 1959, explaining their goals and purposes and in May 1960 William G. Phillips was hired by the group as its full-time staff co-ordinator. It was under Phillips that DSG made its largest strides forward in legislative research and campaign activity. Phillips envisioned DSG as working even beyond the House structure, such as publishing special reports, books, independent studies, and arranging academic briefings for DSG members on domestic and international problems.

He later moved on to Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity in what many consider a promotion given Phillips by President Johnson as a reward for his cooperation with the White House toward passage of "Great Society" programs.

Probably no single piece of legislation or reform illuminated the raw power DSG had assumed in the House, or which gave the group more press coverage, than did its attack on the Rules Committee and Chairman Howard Smith (Va.).

Nor has any single House reform given the liberals more power or parliamentary leverage than the weakening of the Rules Committee, making it impossible for the committee to effectively block a measure for more than 21 days. This is surely one of the major blows levied against conservatives in Congress. And DSG was the plotter, planner and promoter of the drive to weaken Smith's committee.

Watson-Williams Purge

In the early '60s the liberals on two occasions successfully "packed" the Rules Committee with anti-Smith members. But after the 1964 elections, DSG wanted more: the 21-day rule.

As the New York *Times* reported in a back-page article, Dec. 7, 1964:

"Liberal Democratic members of the House of Representatives are quietly moving toward wide agreement on far-reaching procedural reforms to curb the power of conservatives in Congress. *A long stride in that direction was taken last Thursday by leaders of the Democratic Study Group* in a strategy session at the Capital, according to information made available today. Liberal colleagues are being informed by letter that a detailed reform plan was unanimously approved at the two-hour closed meeting." (Emphasis added.)

Later in December it was announced in the press that Speaker McCormack had "passed the word" that he intended to support most of the reforms offered by DSG. This marked the first time, really, when the group had gathered enough strength to potentially command a majority in the House Democratic caucus, thus becoming a powerful force in the party.

Equally as important to DSG was the planned purge of Reps. Albert Watson (S.C.) and John Bell Williams (Miss.) from their seniority ranking in the party for supporting Goldwater. DSG leaders were not only out to weaken the hold conservative chairmen had on House committees, they also wished to pressure party members into strict party discipline.

True to DSG's wishes, when the 295 members of the House Democratic caucus met in early January they stripped Watson and Williams of their seniority rights for "party disloyalty" and approved, at the very same time, reform proposals making it impossible for Smith's Rules Committee to hold up legislation longer than 21 days.

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This new rule was used six times in 1965 and made possible House passage of the bill repealing Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Thus, with the Rules Committee roadblock removed, the DSG came into its own and, as the just-completed session showed, could push through Congress the most radical legislation in U.S. history.

In the area of House campaigns, DSG has all but shunted the Democratic National Committee aside and set up an effective "Campaign Committee" of their own. According to a report issued by the left-wing National Committee for An Effective Congress ". . . more than $70,000 has been raised and distributed to DSG members in close races through the 'DSG Campaign Committee' . . . the bulk of it coming from funds received in response to a mail solicitation by Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy."

This NCEC report for 1964 goes on: "Significantly, about 42 per cent of this money was allocated not to DSG's own members, but to Democratic challengers running against Republican incumbents, whom it was hoped would be elected and become members of the DSG. Sixty-one of them were and did."

Law Violation?

Although most DSG members attempt to restrict all knowledge of their fund-raising efforts, they ran a larger effort this year and plan more in future years, especially in the area of direct mail. With the recent split in fund-raising programs between the Democratic National Committee and the Senate and House campaign committees, DSG is now going all out.

This new independence on the part of DSG was given a boost by George Meany and his AFL-CIO when spokesmen for the labor organization announced that they would not support the May 12 Democratic Congressional Dinner in Washington, D.C., which reportedly raised in excess of $800,000.

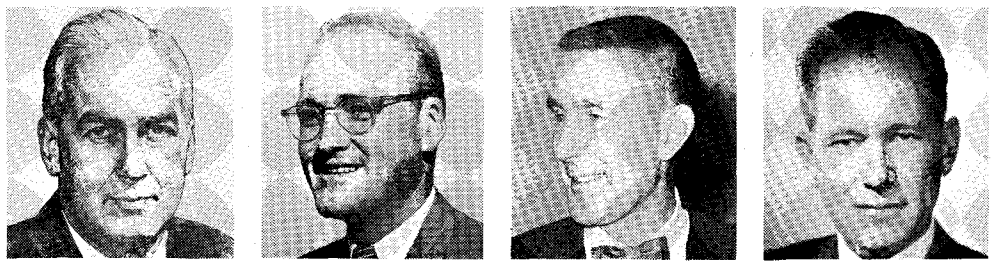
According to *Congressional Quarterly*, "Meany was reported to be dissatisfied with the projected use of the campaign funds gathered, feeling that much of the money would go to conservative Southern congressmen and not enough to labor-backed freshmen Democratic representatives." Naturally, DSG, is loaded with plenty of labor-backed freshmen Democrats and it is believed that a great deal of labor money has been plowed into DSG this year for just such a purpose.

It is DSG's fund-raising activities that could get the group into deep trouble because of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925. As a politically active organization raising money, DSG must file a list of its contributions and contributors with the filing Clerk of the House as prescribed by law.

Under the law any "political committee"—which is defined as "any committee, association, or organization which accepts contributions or makes expenditures for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence the election of candidates . . . "—must file with the Clerk of the House the "name and address of each person who has made a contribution to or for such committee in one or more items of the aggregate amount or value, within the calendar year, or $100 or more, together with the amount and date of such contribution."

The law further requests a full statement for the year giving total contributions, expenditures, etc.

The Democratic Study Group, according to records with the clerk of the House, does not appear to have filed any expenditure reports in either 1964 or 1966. Nor are DSG officers willing to say anything about this omission.



Heading the DSG are Reps. Frank Thompson (N.J.), chairman; James G. O'Hara (Mich.), vice-chairman; and Morris Udall (Ariz.), secretary. Also active is ADA chief Don Edwards (Calif.).

It is, however, quite possible that DSG raises and spends most of its money through front organizations, such as the National Committee for an Effective Congress. Indeed, in 1964, the Democrats for Sound Government, in Kensington, Md., which receives NCEC money and is believed to be a DSG front (note same initials), did file campaign reports with the Clerk of the House, but DSG staff director John Morgan rudely refused to say if there was a connection between DSG and the Kensington outfit. His secretary had previously said no connection existed.

Rita Morgan, secretary-treasurer of a "DSG 1966 Campaign Fund," did file a report of contributions, but not expenditures, with the clerk of the House in September of this year, but DSG officers won't discuss this at all.

Although a veil of secrecy completely shrouds DSG's financial budget, it is known that members pay yearly dues of $50 and use their tax-paid clerk-hire allowance to pay DSG researchers.

It is the research activities that appeal most to DSG members because, as one administrative assistant to a member says, "An issue can suddenly arise on the floor one day and the next morning DSG has a lengthy brief on the desks of all members."

DSG also holds seminars for incoming congressmen and has set up a "buddy system" to show freshmen the ropes. Liberal House members start this help even prior to election, by giving speeches and campaign advice.

DSG is mixed in with so many left-wing groups that it is difficult to weed out the entanglement and keep them all straight. One top legislative aide strongly suspects DSG to be mixed up with a leftist group known as the Institute for Policy Studies, which sponsors seminars and lectures by left-wing speakers such as Jerome Weisner.

DSG often holds meetings where liberal academic experts such as Thomas K. Finletter and Prof. Paul Samuelson speak on various topics. Early this year a two-day conference, chaired by Arthur Larson (modern "Republican"), was held by some DSG members—Representatives Diggs, Edwards, Farbstein, Fraser, Kastenmeier, Reuss and Ryan—to listen to an assortment of speakers representing "the academy" on the topic of Viet Nam. The name DSG is seldom brought into any of these projects, though they are created and planned by DSG leaders and staffers.

DSG "will be the dominant power in the House by 1969," according to one legislative assistant. He meant by that, of course, that DSG would exceed even the leadership of the House in political power.

Whether they will replace the present leadership with their own men (Rep. Bolling has made no secret of his ambitions), or merely use the leadership, no one can say. Some say there will eventually have to be a test of power between the leadership and DSG chieftains. When this will come no one is prepared to guess.

But to reach 1969 they must successfully leap the election hurdles of 1966 and 1968. Conservative gains could eat substantially into their membership and thereby weaken their power.

As an article on DSG by the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department's *Agenda* says: "Nowhere was [DSG's] effectiveness more apparent than in the sessions of last year and this. If its ranks are thinned appreciably in this November's elections, needed domestic programs are sure to suffer in the 90th Congress from their absence."

There are still many unanswered questions involving DSG, questions which must be answered, if the full power and resources of this secret organization are to be fully known. Why all the secrecy? What is DSG hiding? Why are members reluctant to admit they belong to DSG? Why are the names of their staff researchers and writers kept secret? What does DSG cloak behind its unmarked doors on the fifth floor of the Cannon House Office Building? No one has yet found the answers to these questions.

Meanwhile, DSG continues to run the House of Representatives as the liberals have always hoped they would one day. Whether that control will still exist after the elections of '66 and '68, no one knows for sure.

Is Your Congressman a DSG Member?

The following is a list of the "membership" of the Democratic Study Group of the House. In most cases the information was received over the telephone from congressmen, legislative or administrative assistants or staff members. The remaining names are those DSG members who have frequently been identified as such in newspaper and magazine articles.

The list is not complete because many Democratic congressmen were evasive about their DSG membership. There are some who do not consider themselves formal members but sympathetic DSG "helpers" who contribute money, receive DSG reports and materials, attend some meetings and help DSG whenever they can.

After repeated telephone calls, these members have not replied as to whether they are DSG members or not: Neal Smith (Iowa), Charles H. Wilson (Calif.), Richard H. Ichord (Mo.), Robert N. Giaimo (Conn.), Thomas G. Morris (N.M.), Teno Roncalio (Wyo.) and John R. Hansen (Iowa).

The offices of Reps. Dominick V. Daniels (N.J.), Cornelius E. Gallagher (N.J.) and Alec G. Olson (Minn.) did not wish to say whether the congressman belonged or not.

Reps. Charles P. Farnsley (Ky.), David S. King (Utah) and William J. Randall (Mo.) identified themselves as former members.

The office of John R. Hansen (Wash.) wouldn't "give that information over the phone."

An aide to Rep. Roy H. McVicker (Colo.) informed me that I would "have to get that information from DSG." (DSG, of course, will not give out "that information.")

And Rep. Ken Hechler of West Virginia told his secretary that he would not, under any circumstances, speak with me.

In many cases aides and secretaries were evasive, rude, and less than helpful—a few told me that it would be three to four weeks before I could "talk with the congressman."

In each case I gave my full name, and when asked, my profession: a Washington free-lance writer doing an article on DSG and taking a survey of Democratic members of the House.

Here are the names of the congressmen who would admit membership:

Adams (Wash.)
Addabbo (N.Y.)
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio (Ill.)
Ashley (Ohio)
Aspinall (Colo.)
Bandstra (Iowa)
Barrett (Pa.)
Bingham (N.Y.)
Blatnik (Minn.)
Boland (Mass.)
Bolling (Mo.)
Brademas (Ind.)
Brooks (Tex.)
Brown (Calif.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Callan (Nebr.)
Cameron (Calif.)
Carey (N.Y.)
Celler (N.Y.)
Clark (Pa.)
Clevenger (Mich.)
Cohelan (Calif.)
Conyers (Mich.)
Corman (Calif.)
Craley (Pa.)
Culver (Iowa)
Daddario (Conn.)
Dawson (Ill.)
Dent (Pa.)
Denton (Ind.)
Diggs (Mich.)
Dingell Mich.)
Dow (N.Y.)
Dulski (N.Y.)
Duncan (Ore.)
Dyal (Calif.)
Edmondson (Okla.)
Edwards (Calif.)
Evans (Colo.)
Farbstein (N.Y.)
Farnum (Mich.)
Fascell (Fla.)
Fogarty (R.I.)
Wm. Ford (Mich.)
Fraser (Minn.)
Friedel (Md.)
Fulton (Tenn.)
Garmatz (Md.)
Gibbons (Fla.)
Gilbert (N.Y.)
Gilligan (Ohio)
Gonzalez (Tex.)
Grabowski (Conn.)
Gray (Ill.)
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Greigg (Iowa)
Griffiths (Mich.)
Hagen (Calif.)
Hamilton (Ind.)
Hanley (N.Y.)
Hanna (Calif.)
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway (Maine)
Hawkins (Calif.)
Hays (Ohio)
Helstoski (N.J.)
Hicks (Wash.)
Holifield (Calif.)
Holland (Pa.)
Howard (N.J.)
Hungate (Mo.)
Huot (N.H.)
Irwin (Conn.)
Jacobs (Ind.)
Joelson (N.J.)
Johnson (Calif.)
Johnson (Okla.)
Karsten (Mo.)
Karth (Minn.)
Kastenmeier (Wis.)
Kee (W.Va.)
Kelly (N.Y.)
Keogh (N.Y.)
King (Calif.)
Kirwan (Ohio)
Kluczynski (Ill.)
Krebs (N.J.)
Leggett (Calif.)
Long (Md.)
Love (Ohio)
McCarthy (N.Y.)
McDowell (Del.)
McFall (Calif.)
McGrath (N.J.)
Macdonald (Mass.)
Machen (Md.)
Mackay (Ga.)
Mackie (Mich.)
Madden (Ind.)
Matsunaga (Hawaii)
Meeds (Wash.)
Miller (Calif.)
Minish (N.J.)
Mink (Hawaii)
Moeller (Ohio)
Moorhead (Pa.)
Morgan (Pa.)
Moss (Calif.)
Multer (N.Y.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Nedzi (Mich.)
Nix (Pa.)
O'Brien (N.Y.)
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Patten (N.J.)
Pepper (Fla.)
Perkins (Ky.)
Pike (N.Y.)
Price (Ill.)
Pucinski (Ill.)
Race (Wis.)
Redlin (N.Dak.)
Resnick (N.Y.)
Reuss (Wis.)
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers (Alaska)
Rodino (N.J.)
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan (Ill.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rees (Calif.)
Rosenthal (N.Y.)
Rostenkowski (Ill.)
Roush (Ind.)
Roybal (Calif.)
Ryan (N.Y.)
St Germain (R.I.)
St. Onge (Conn.)
Scheuer (N.Y.)
Schisler (Ill.)
Schmidhauser (Iowa)
Senner (Ariz.)
Sickles (Md.)
Sisk (Calif.)
Slack (W.Va.)
Staggers (W.Va.)
Stalbaum (Wis.)
Sullivan (Mo.)
Sweeney (Ohio)
Tenzer (N.Y.)
Thompson (N.J.)
Todd (Mich.)
Toll (Pa.)
Tunney (Calif.)
Udall (Ariz.)
Ullman (Ore.)
Van Deerlin (Calif.)
Vanik (Ohio)
Vigorito (Pa.)
Vivian (Mich.)
Walker (N.M.)
White (Idaho)
Wolff (N.Y.)
Wright (Tex.)
Yates (Ill.)

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'Activists' vs. 'Conservatives'

How Should Courts Treat Alcoholics?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Mr. Justice Fortas came up the other day with a short dissenting opinion that spoke eloquently, if not intentionally, of the gulf that divides the activists from the conservatives on the highest court in our land.

The case was *Budd vs. California,* in which Thomas F. Budd, a 56-year-old Oakland janitor and one-time caddy, sought a review of his conviction in the Oakland Municipal Court on a charge of being drunk in the public view. The Supreme Court refused to hear the case, but Fortas, joined by Mr. Justice Douglas, dissented.

The facts were not in dispute. Budd was arrested at 24th and Telegraph Streets in Oakland about 1:30 a.m. on Nov. 23, 1964, just as he was about to pass out in a parked car. His sole defense before Trial Judge Zook Sutton was that he was a confirmed alcoholic. Two medical witnesses testified to that effect. In their view, Budd's involuntary compulsion to buy beer and to get drunk was "completely outside his control." Budd's attorneys introduced evidence that the defendant had been convicted on drunk charges 21 times in the past 10 years. They argued that such manifest alcoholism is a disease, not a crime, and should be handled by civil commitment for medical treatment rather than by fine or commitment to jail.

Judge Sutton was not inclined to make legal history. He found the defendant guilty, imposed a fine of $22 or two days in jail, and asked a rhetorical question: "If the defendant had been found guilty, would the same purported defense of chronic alcoholism apply with equal force to a situation of drunk driving?"

When the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court the week of October 17 by the *habeas corpus* route, Mr. Justice Fortas bought the defendant's argument *in toto.* Four years ago, he observed, in another California case, the high court ruled that addiction to narcotics is not a crime, but a disease. Is not the same thing true of addiction to alcohol? Is it not "cruel and unusual punishment," under the 8th Amendment, to sentence a sick man to jail, just for being sick?

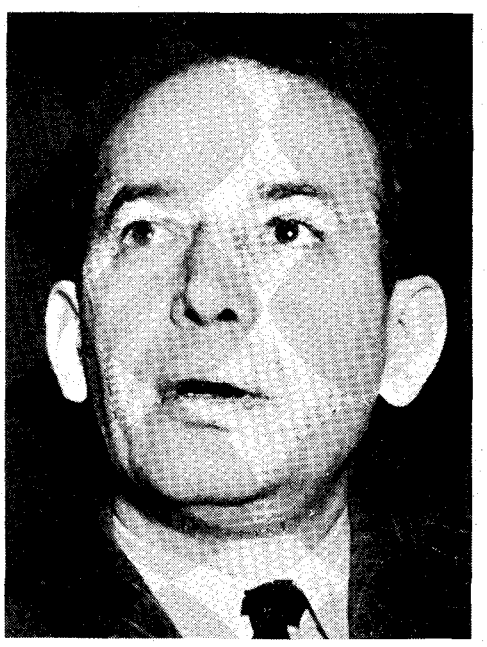
"The record and the medical literature admonish us," said Fortas, "that punishment of alcoholics does society no good. It can be applauded only by the uninformed or the sadistic. It is neither a deterrent nor a cure for those afflicted. On the contrary, as testified here, it is not only ineffective, but 'particularly antitherapeutic, because it increases the feelings of worthlessness that all alcoholics have.' "

"Our morality does not permit us to punish for illness," Fortas added. "We do not impose punishment for involuntary conduct, whether the lack of volition results from 'insanity,' addiction to narcotics, or from other illness. The use of the crude and formidable weapon of criminal punishment of the alcoholic is neither seemly nor civilized."

Viewed wholly on its merits, there probably is much to be said for the Fortas view. An appalling six million Americans reportedly are alcoholics—800,000 of them in California alone. More than 1.5 million arrests for drunkenness are made each year. Every police reporter is familiar with the dreary parade of chronic drunks from tavern to jail and back to the tavern again. Imprisonment accomplishes nothing.

Yet even the most compassionate judge has an obligation to remember that it is a constitution he is engaged in construing. Is a two-day jail sentence on a drunk charge both "cruel" and also "unusual"? Patently, no. It may be cruel, if Fortas' reasoning is accepted, but it is not unusual, and the constitutional prohibition demands both characteristics.

There is also the practical question of what local trial courts could do with thousands of alcoholics if the Budd defense were approved by the high court. Send them to mental institutions? But mental institutions are not well equipped to care for them either. As California's attorney general observed in opposing certiorari, rehabilitation programs for alcoholics are "largely unknown, untried, unfunded and consist more of future promise than present reality."



The dissent of Justice Abe Fortas would have the court assume an even greater legislative role.

And how far would judicial activists go in acquitting men for "involuntary" acts resulting from "disease"? Suppose Budd had stolen the beer? Could he be prosecuted for theft? Suppose an alcoholic robbed a man to get money to buy liquor? Is this not a crime?

As motor vehicle records demonstrate, some drivers are obsessed with speed; it is perhaps a sickness with them. Are they to be set free or committed to mental institutions? What of the rapist, driven by dark compulsions? What of the psychopath who molests children?

Theories of crime and punishment are not immutable; they must constantly be refined. But our society is governed by legislatures as well as judges. Before judicial activists rewrite the Constitution to their own views of psychiatry and medicine, the people, through their legislatures, should have a chance to write some law themselves.

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Example to Follow

From the Arizona *Republic*

A small but significant event which merits attention took place in Canada recently.

The Robin Hood Flour Mill closed its doors because it had no more work for its 90 employes.

It didn't have to close its doors. It could have continued to operate on a five-week basis. But the mill's American owners turned down the order that would have kept it running rather than do business with Castro's Cuba.

"Company policy," reported the mill's union representative, "does not permit trading with the enemy of the United States."

Although we imagine that policy finds little favor at the moment among the mill's 90 unemployed workers, we salute the mill owners for their commendable action.

Perhaps if other businesses, large and small, as well as the United States itself, followed the patriotic example of the Robin Hood Flour Mill with respect to all Red-dominated nations, the Communist menace to the peace and freedom of the world could be reduced to little more than a petty annoyance—and then squelched forever.

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Can You Understand Liberal Point of View?

By PAUL HARVEY

I can understand the "liberal point of view"—can you?

As long as Americans applaud free enterprise but vote for Santa Claus, do you think any practical politician is going to vote against increased Social Security?

Also, conservatives always sound so anti-this and anti-that that young people, especially, come to see them as a bunch of old-maid "antis."

The liberal says, "Look, the Russians want to be friends with us. Hallelujah!" That is the kind of proclamation you can welcome, cheer, vote for.

The conservative *Wall Street Journal* cautions, "Don't let our guard down, don't celebrate yet, don't relax prematurely. . . ."

What party poopers! Nuts to the joy killers!

One must back off a few chapters from the pages of contemporary history to recognize that the conservative "hand on the shoulder" has been a proper restraining influence in our nation's affairs. Whenever the liberal has decreed, "Let everybody eat cake!", the conservative has cautioned that too much cake can make you sick.

That's right, but what's "right" is rarely what's popular.

An election ago, this column sought to interpret then-prevailing political philosophies. Rereading my words of Aug. 25, 1964, I see nothing has changed:

The conservative says, "Balance the budget."

The liberal says, "Don't worry about it."

The conservative says, "Balance the military establishment."

The liberal says, "Let's all disarm."

The conservative says, "Inefficient farmers should do something else."

The liberal says, "Subsidize 'em!"

The conservative says, "We need a hard dollar."

The liberal says, "A little inflation won't hurt."

The conservative says, "Taxpayers need relief."

The liberal says, "The needy need relief."

The conservative says, "How about the next generation?"

The liberal says, "They can't vote yet!"

The liberal demands, "Everything equal for everybody."

The conservative demands, "Freedom to be unequal."

The liberal says, "Conservatives worry too much, they're old-fashioned, out-of-step."

The conservative says, "Liberals are reckless, extravagant, power-hungry, blind leaders."

And Americans will approve and may applaud the conservative's proposed "balanced diet." But the politicians have learned that cake is better vote-bait.

On the eve of another election the President is recommending a vastly expanded Social Security program, more "welfare," with more "give" and "take" affecting everybody.

Few voices in Congress have dared protest.

I did see a bumper sticker in Indianapolis, which was probably printed by some interfering, obstructionist, conservative.

It said, "What do you mean, *federal* aid? It's *our* money!"

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FALL IN LINE FOR GRAVY—"Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien, in a week-end talk to Nebraska Democrats at Lincoln, Neb., made what could be a valuable contribution toward understanding of a major issue in the 1966 political campaign. He said: 'The kind of men Nebraska needs in Congress are men who can co-operate with the federal government so that you get your fair share of the funds and programs available.' His message: Choose congressmen who accept the views of the Administration. Fall in line for the gravy."—From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

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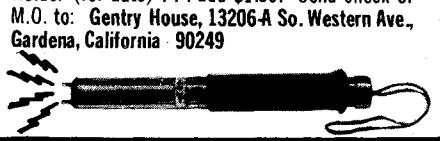

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THIS BREAD IS MINE by Robert LeFevre (American Library Press, 161 W. Wisconsin Ave., Milwaukee, Wis., 384 pages, $6.50. Order directly from the publisher).

Mr. LeFevre, the distinguished former editor of the Colorado Springs **Gazette-Telegram** and founder of the Freedom School, is presently dean of Rampart College near Colorado Springs.

An earlier treatise, **The Nature of Man and His Government**, helped establish LeFevre's credentials as one of the most readable libertarian writers on the American scene. **This Bread Is Mine** is an important contribution to a philosophy of individualism, which is, in LeFevre's formula, the absolute opposite of socialism. In drawing this contrast between freedom and socialism, LeFevre succinctly sets forth the roots and elementary components of each system. By codifying those individual elements which comprise the philosophy of socialism, he feels, one is better prepared to do battle against the gradual abridgement of individual prerogatives.

Many conservatives will find some long-cherished notions about the relationship of man and government challenged by LeFevre's powerful and persuasive logic. At the same time, however, their thinking about how to resist the tyranny of the egalitarian will be stimulated and sharpened.

PROTEST: SACCO-VANZETTI AND THE INTELLECTUALS by David Felix (Indiana University Press, 174 pages, $5.95).

The execution in 1927 of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti for the holdup-murder of a paymaster and guard was turned into a **cause célèbre** by the intellectuals of the American left wing. Forty years later our misty-eyed liberals still regard the case as supreme proof that ours is a cruel and totalitarian society, so indifferent to the rights of two poor immigrants that evidence was purposely manufactured to railroad them to their deaths.

The trouble with this diagnosis is that it is worse than simplistic—it is false as any but the most myopic, doctrinaire liberals must conclude after reading Mr. Felix' careful study. This is a worthy sequel to Robert Montgomery's earlier work on the same subject.

THE ROMANOVS: THREE CENTURIES OF AN ILL-FATED DYNASTY by E. M. Alemdingen (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 333 pages, $5.95).

The Romanov dynasty extended from the coming of Michael in 1613 through the murder of Nicholas II and his family in 1918. Those 300 years saw an empire molded from a scattering of disunited provinces.

This is the story of the great historical accomplishments of those years. The virtues and the vices of the czars, and the political intrigue that at all times was their hallmark, is told in an absorbing style. All who are fascinated by Russian history will not want to miss this book.

THE CHINA DANGER by Richard L. Walker (American Bar Association, 1155 E. 60th Street, Chicago, Ill. 60637. 138 Pages, $1. Order directly from publisher).

Dr. Walker, professor of International Relations at the University of South Carolina, draws some frequently overlooked parallels between Communist China and other totalitarian states, principally Nazi Germany, at similar stages of development.

Quoting liberally from official Red Chinese sources, Walker paints a vividly disturbing picture of the danger this Asian Goliath presents to the free world.

THE AMERICAN LEGION STORY by Raymond Moley Jr. (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 443 pages, $6.95).

"The American Legion is truly an American institution—in origin, purpose and operation. Born from America's struggle to maintain liberty in World War I, the American Legion has become an inextricable part of the American story. . . . **The American Legion Story** . . . is an excellent book. It sets forth with skill and precision the history of this great organization. American citizens from all walks of life should know more about the American Legion. To read Mr. Moley's narrative is to relive the history of our nation in the 20th Century."—From the foreword by J. Edgar Hoover.

Store Boycotts Hit Wrong Target

From the San Diego *Union*

Every housewife in the nation can sympathize with concern over the high price of food which has been translated into action by the women of Denver.

Is there a housewife in the United States who hasn't felt the pinch of inflation as she shopped for the family's food?

The action of the Denver housewives in boycotting supermarkets also rebuts the opinion of the secretary of agriculture. Readers will recall the secretary advised fellow Democrats to "slip, slide, duck" when the issue of inflation arose on the political trails.

If pinned down, the secretary further advised, put the blame for inflation on the housewife, who is not organized, not on the farmer who is.

Socrates—who once commented on the fury of a woman scorned—or any husband could have told the secretary he was underestimating women. The Denver boycott shows the ladies can and will act together when problems reach a certain level.

We suggest, however, that the housewives are on the wrong front in the right battle. The major battleground is not the Denver supermarket, but Capitol Hill.

Under the competitive free enterprise system, the supermarkets must make a profit, which involves such things as overhead, higher wholesale costs and higher wages. They are raising the price of food not because they want to, but because they have to as the result of federal fiscal tinkering which creates inflation.

In picking on the grocery stores, the housewives are attacking another victim of that tinkering.

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The Law Is the Law Is the Law

By MORRIE RYSKIND

No doubt President Johnson, heavily laden with the awesome burdens of his office, meant well when, departing for the Far East, he solemnly asked us all to pray for him. But good intentions are hardly an excuse for our chief executive to flout a Supreme Court decision and thus set a dangerous example of lawlessness.

There might be a case for LBJ had he asked us to pray for him as an individual; but here he was clearly invoking our supplications for the Commander-in-Chief, whose salary is paid by non-believers as well as believers. And the court—now our principal lawmaking body—has ruled that even a voluntary non-denominational prayer in public schools, supported by public funds, violates the constitutional dictum that church and state must remain separate.

To temper justice with mercy, one may forgive an underprivileged six-year-old lawbreaker who, at 10 o'clock recess, defiantly whispers "God is great, God is good, and I thank him for my food" before eating his crackers and milk. He is obviously the product of a faulty environment and, hopefully, Operation Headstart—which will guide youngsters from the age of four, before they have succumbed to parental indoctrination—will undo all that.

But what can be said for a middle - aged President who, in effect, joins hands with a wild-eyed religious fanatic like Sen. Dirksen to urge anarchy upon us? Is such a man really fit to head the "Great Society"?

True enough, there were times in our antediluvian past when the Supreme Court was not regarded as sacrosanct and its decisions were open to discussion by the laity.

Thus, in 1805—long before Robert Welch appeared on the scene—Thomas Jefferson was instrumental in having Justice Samuel Chase impeached, and only four senatorial votes saved the justice from involuntary retirement. Andrew Jackson thumbed his nose at one court ruling, saying disdainfully, "They made it—now let them carry it out." And FDR tried to strangle a dissenting court by packing it.

But time marches on apace, and this is 1966. The court is now haloed and its position so strong that not even a President can successfully defy it.

And, unquestionably, there are enough intellectuals who will arise to argue for Mr. Johnson's impeachment on the solid ground that his request for our prayers clearly infringes on the 1st Amendment and puts all of us in jeopardy. Indeed, a full-page ad to that effect in the New York *Times*, signed by professors and preachers and the other professional protesters, can be only a few days away.

There will be—to judge by the past—many marches, Berkeley sit-ins and brochures by the American Civil Liberties Union, all demanding impeachment. In Viet Nam, a Buddhist monk will go up in flames to register his disapproval of the President.

Add to that the fact that even at this moment, LBJ is being tried *in absentia* as a war criminal by such objective jurists as Bertrand Russell, Stokely Carmichael and newsmen from *Pravda* and the *Peking Review*. Surely what is known as World Opinion will force impeachment.

One can only speculate how it will turn out. There was another President Johnson who survived impeachment proceedings by only one vote, and this could prove as close, what with progressives of both parties crying out "Guilty!" and reactionaries opposed.

The result could hinge on the ballot of Bobby Kennedy, who would be torn between putting his stamp of approval on LBJ or having Hubert Humphrey take over the White House, thus insuring the latter's heading the party ticket in 1968.

Bobby would have to do some mighty tall praying at home—which is still strictly legal, I hasten to point out—before deciding on which horn of the dilemma he would prefer his future chances impaled.

Me? I shall visit the synagogue, which is not supported by public funds, and for the first time pray as I have sometimes voted: for the lesser of two evils. Not that LBJ is my dish of tea, but I dread the alternative even more.

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WIRTZ' ORDERS — Connecticut's $50-million-a-year tobacco industry is in danger of extinction because of the refusal of Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz to permit the use of foreign field hands. "If we really could get Americans to do the work, that would be fine," says Bernard L. Kohn, senior vice president of the General Cigar Co. "But we can't, so [Wirtz'] order simply amounts to the government putting this region out of business."

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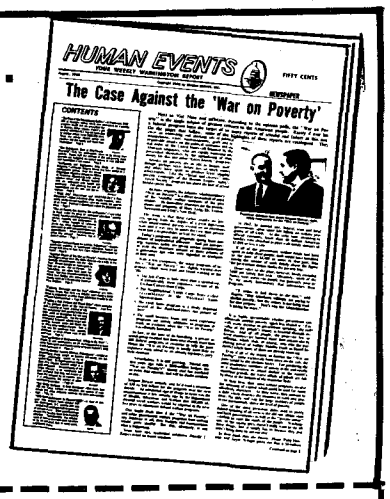

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President Johnson, second from right, signs a declaration of war and peace aims at the recent Manila summit conference.

History's Lessons Ignored

LBJ Playing Patsy Role In Haste to Make Peace

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

There we go again. Apparently, no American President can learn from the failures of his predecessors. Now it is LBJ's turn to think that he can "make peace" with Moscow and he is falling all over himself to get some kind of result before the coming election. In the process he is making the United States ridiculous. Nobody respects a patsy.

In effect, that former New Dealer, Lyndon Baines Johnson, has revived FDR's illusion that he could "handle Stalin" and thus establish an international peace. If in the process the United States countenanced Stalin's rape of the Baltic states, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, and accepted Tito's seizure of Yugoslavia, well, so much the worse for their respective peoples. Peace comes first, doesn't it?

President Truman, for a few sad months, remained under the same spell until, in February 1946, Stalin mocked him in a public speech.

Eisenhower, under Dulles' influence, came to power with a promise to "roll back" Soviet communism. He revealed the emptiness of this pledge when he offered no assistance to the revolting Hungarians. As Dulles sickened, Ike decided that in the interest of "peace" he must try to "handle" Khrushchev—and invited him to visit this country. How the visit affected Mr. K. the latter demonstrated by his insolence at the famous press conference in Paris in 1960—when he was already hiding his preparations to send missiles to Cuba behind a phony Berlin "crisis."

Yet Eisenhower was firmness itself compared to Kennedy. His surrender at the Bay of Pigs and the mild impression he made at Vienna—these convinced Mr. K. that he could safely place offensive missiles in Cuba. Here Kennedy stiffened, but even while he was giving the boot to the Russian missiles he was angling for "peace" with the man who put them there. If Russia had to be coaxed into ending the cold war, JFK was ready.

And as a direct result communism all but took over Laos, Viet Nam, parts of Africa and certain Latin American countries. How many more costly Russo-American agreements he and his pugwashed peaceniks would have made if he had lived, nobody can say.

Most of us expected a more erect posture from a Texan. And in fact, Johnson has barely thwarted Communist take-overs in Laos, South Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic.

But towards the USSR his policy has remained that of his predecessors—disarmament agreements (which Russia needs more than we do if its people are to prosper), more trade (essential to the Kremlin but not to us, though welcomed by greedy capitalists everywhere) and peace with European Communists, if not with "aggressive" Chinese Reds.

So there we are back to Kennedy's 1963 speech at American University offering an end to the cold war, which only the Kremlin's disdainful refusal prevented from being a disaster.

The reason is simple: Communism, Russian, Chinese, Cuban, even Yugoslav, is by its nature permanently at war with the non-Communist world. What it dare not attempt to accomplish by major aggression it seeks to achieve by "little wars of liberation."

Intelligent and experienced students of Soviet communism know this – all except precisely those American experts favored by Kennedy and Johnson, namely: Harriman, Chip Bohlen, Kennan and Llewellyn Thompson, distinguished by their readiness to believe the best of Moscow.

Just a few days ago, in an interview with *U.S. News & World Report*, Col. R. L. Houston, a former Canadian member of the International Control Commission, who dealt for years with the Communists in Viet Nam, minced no words:

"To the best of my knowledge, there are no such words in the Communist dictionary as 'trust' or 'truth' or 'honesty.' These are laughable terms to them . . . . I would never trust a person who was brought up in the Communist creed."

This, however, is precisely what President Johnson is preparing to do—and in the process he may get all our fingers badly burned.

Unless, of course, encouraged by LBJ's eagerness, Kosygin and Brezhnev ask for more than our President is willing to grant. The danger is, they may pretend to accept—and thus win the cold war without having to fight it further.

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More 'Social' — Less 'Security'

From the Richmond *News Leader*

President Johnson's proposals for expanding Social Security benefits are marvels of political timing, if not of actuarial soundness. His statement comes one month before the November general elections. His proposals, if adopted, would become effective in January 1968, which by astounding coincidence is also an election year.

The President suggests that benefits be increased by at least 10 per cent, and that Medicare benefits be extended to disabled workers under the age of 65. He also would guarantee payments of at least $100 monthly to retired workers who had been contributing to the system for 25 years.

A minimum price tag of $2.2 billion has been placed on the President's package of proposals, of which $1.5 billion could be absorbed under present Social Security taxes. The remaining money would have to come either from an increased payroll tax on a higher taxable wage base or from the General Fund.

The Social Security system since its inception has become far more "social," with much less "security." In 1939, a worker paid a maximum of $30 a year, matched by his employer; since that time, benefits have been increased 119 per cent, while taxes have increased 480 per cent.

In 1973 a worker making $550 a month will pay $353 in annual Social Security taxes, matched by a like sum from his employer. Should the worker have a working wife who also would pay maximum Social Security taxes, their joint annual payments, plus matching payments, would total $1,414.40—no insignificant sum.

The young worker of today who pays the maximum taxes until his retirement in 2010 actually will receive $12,000 less in benefits than he paid in, excluding his employer's payments. His taxes will be used to benefit many of the 22 million Americans now drawing Social Security benefits who paid in only nominal amounts, if any.

Mr. Johnson's proposals will give Congress a good opportunity to examine the program's shortcomings. Its heaviest burden falls on low and middle-income earners, so that a worker who makes $6,600 a year, the current wage base, pays 4.2 per cent in Social Security taxes, while an executive with a $20,000 annual income pays but 1.38 per cent. (The executive gets heavily soaked, of course, under the federal income tax.)

Congressmen also may want to examine the effects of increased Social Security taxes in encouraging short-term unemployment, as employers find that a machine that can replace 10 men over a 10-year period may represent real tax savings.

Congress may recall that the system never was meant to provide more than supplementary income for retirement. It was not intended as a vehicle for enacting a guaranteed minimum income proposal. For this reason, unions have demanded and received substantial pension concessions from industry, and most larger businesses include generous retirement plans among their fringe benefits for employes.

At one time, also, workers were guaranteed that their benefits at least would be as great as their contributions, but this assurance was deleted when benefits were extended to dependents and survivors.

The lack of public knowledge about Social Security has made it possible for politicians to manipulate the program into a social welfare scheme. No worker entering the work force today can possibly hope to gain in benefits the amounts he will be forced to pay in contributions.

The Social Security Trust Fund has become a mockery; 17 per cent of the government income is derived from Social Security taxes. These taxes are spent by the government as ordinary revenues to meet expenses, and the trust fund now contains only IOUs, which are part of the national debt. The public then gets hit twice, first by having to pay Social Security taxes and second by the necessity of having to pay additional taxes to cover the interest on the national debt.

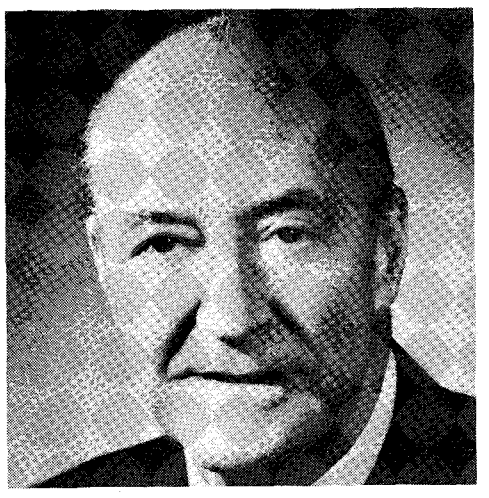
It is easy enough for Congress to vote generous increases in benefits with an eye toward a large bloc of voters, but our generous masters in Washington may wish to consider that a law of diminishing returns operates in politics as well as in economics. The benefits will go to older elements of the population; they must be financed out of taxes largely on the younger age-groups. Young people vote too; and confronting the prospective bill for Mr. Johnson's largess, they may also be heard at the polls.

And Boost Inflation

Johnson Has Hit on Perfect Way To Endanger Economic Prosperity

By HENRY HAZLITT

(Henry Hazlitt has had a long and productive career as a newspaperman, economist and author. He began working with the Wall Street Journal *in 1913, and since that time has served as a financial and editorial writer for a number of well-known newspapers and magazines. Mr. Hazlitt only recently retired from* Newsweek *after 20 years of contributing a weekly article and has now embarked on a syndicated column for the Los Angeles* Times. *We know our readers will welcome to these pages the writings of one of the country's foremost financial experts.—Ed.)*



Henry Hazlitt

The aim of governmental policy should be to prolong prosperity and halt inflation. Lyndon Johnson's present policies seem calculated, rather, to prolong inflation and halt prosperity.

The President's economic advisers have apparently forgotten that the direct cause of inflation is the increase in the quantity of money and of credit. In the past six years—from the end of 1960 to fall of this year—the quantity of money and bank credit has been increased by 52 per cent. This is the chief reason why, in spite of increased productivity, consumer prices have risen 10 per cent in the same period. In recent months the Federal Reserve has adopted measures to slow down the increase in the quantity of money, and these have had some effect.

The chief blame for inflation is usually put on our chronic budget deficit. But this deficit, while certainly important, creates inflation primarily because it necessitates an increase in the money and credit supply to pay for it.

The present federal budget could and should be balanced solely by a reduction in expenditures, not by any increase in taxation. It is clear on the face of present figures that the federal government is not suffering from any shortage of revenues. The Administration and Congress have already increased or accelerated taxes by $10 billion in this calendar year. Federal revenues, as a result, are by far the highest for any year in the nation's history. But, enormous as they have been, they have not been able to keep pace with the increase in the rate of federal spending.

Last January the President's estimate for the total cash *non-defense* spending of the present fiscal year was $12 billion higher than in 1965, $23 billion higher than in 1963 and $32 billion higher than in 1961. Yet on top of this originally estimated increase in non-defense spending, the President and Congress have since casually proposed new spending programs every few weeks. The President light-heartedly suggests non-defense spending programs of more billions and Congress casually appropriates more billions as if they were dealing with nickels.

It is true that Mr. Johnson, when he officially proposed the suspension of the 7 per cent investment tax credit on September 8, felt it at least necessary to mention the desirability of a $3-billion reduction in 1967 expenditures. But whereas his tax increase proposal was definite and detailed, his suggested expenditure reductions were vague, perfunctory and unconvincing. No cut was suggested in a single specific program. In fact, the President, even since September 8, has recommended additional specific non-defense expenditures amounting to many billions.

No new tax increase should have been proposed at all. But the Johnson Administration proposed one of the most harmful that could be thought of. It is a mistake for many reasons to try to manipulate taxes as stop-and-go weapons for short-term business-cycle policy. It was a breach of faith to start playing with this particular investment tax credit, which ought to be a fixed and known item on which business could base its long-term plans for investment and expansion.

What Mr. Johnson and Congress are doing is to increase a special tax (or remove a tax credit) precisely in order to discourage investment, cost reduction, plant expansion and job creation. At the same time they seem eager to increase and encourage spending on unproductive consumption.

If Mr. Johnson and Congress want to discourage economic growth and endanger prosperity, while continuing to promote price inflation, they have hit upon precisely the right way to do it.

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Why Not Let the U.N. Leave New York?

By HENRY J. TAYLOR, Former Ambassador to Switzerland

In a resentful speech to the United Nations on October 18, Saudi Arabian Ambassador Jamil Baroody shouted that the U.N. headquarters "should not stay in the United States." This, I think, is the best idea that has come out of the United Nations in a very long time.

"We should see if there is not someplace elsewhere with a more propitious atmosphere," he stated. Good hunting, Mr. Baroody.

The move-away proposal was more or less backed up by about 62 Afro-Asian delegates who habitually bite the American hand that feeds them.

Instead of further pampering these free-loaders, why don't we call their bluff?

No nation in the history of the world has given so much and asked so little as the United States. That's another reason we can be proud we are Americans. But we're widely accused of trying to boss the world. The presence of the United Nations here adds pressure to that propaganda—and to the complications which flow from it.

The psychological advantages extend to our taxpayers' pocketbooks. Given the American temperament and in the atmosphere of being the "host country," we function in the worst possible atmosphere financially. The paupers are sitting right in the lap of a rich uncle, staring at our prosperity all the while.

In the General Assembly of 120 member nations, Africa has roughly 30 per cent of the votes, Asia 20 per cent, Latin America 20 per cent. This totals about 70 per cent of the U.N. voting strength.

Speaking behind closed doors to a Senate subcommittee, Secretary of State Dean Rusk is the authority for this revealing result: "In the General Assembly a two-thirds majority can be formed by nations with only 10 per cent of the world's population, and who contribute altogether about 5 per cent of the U.N.'s assessed budget."

Typically, tiny Gabon, with only one-third the population of The Bronx in New York City, a Stone Age economy

Even Dean Rusk admits problem of small nations' having equal vote.

and a constitution glued together by witch doctors, has a vote in the United Nations that counts as heavily as that of the United States.

The United Nations has taken aboard as many as 13 such new "nations" in a single day. Although most are merely primitive communities, all are referred to as "underdeveloped nations," implying that each would be more or less an advanced nation if only it had the money and the chance. In fact, of the 120 U.N. members, only 26 are what the organization itself calls "developed" nations.

As one result, at the last opening session of the General Assembly, 77 "underdeveloped" countries pushed for trade concessions, commercial advantages and new spending programs within the United Nations for which we'd be the chief payer and they would be the chief beneficiaries.

Nor does the victimizing of Uncle Sam stop there. On one occasion when I was in Geneva, the Soviet sold trucks and jeeps to Castro. The Kremlin cleverly labeled the deal "For malaria eradication purposes" and put the transaction through the Pan American Health Organization and the World Health Organization of the United Nations. Well, our American taxpayers pay 66 per cent of PAHO's budget. We also pay over 90 per cent of WHO's malaria account. And so it goes behind the scenes in the glass Tower of Babel in New York City.

Next, beyond the psychological, there's the security advantage in moving the headquarters elsewhere.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover reports that 865 Soviet-bloc personnel and more than 1,200 dependents, all with diplomatic immunity against arrest, and most of them accredited to the United Nations and not to the United States, are stationed here. His bureau estimates that about 80 per cent of the Soviet-bloc personnel are intelligence officers and not diplomats at all.

Nothing could be a heavier, easier and quicker blow to Red espionage than to put the U.N. headquarters elsewhere.

It should never have been put here in the first place. I attended the San Francisco founding conference and this mistake in location was, among others, one of the mistakes made. An awakening to an apparent revelation of the truth sometimes obscures the cold fact that only the awakening is new. The truth was there all the time.

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EXPENSIVE EMPLOYES — In 1962 the average employe at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency received $9,970 a year. Four years later, his salary has nearly doubled to $17,000, according to Rep. Harold Collier (R.-Ill.). "I just wonder what these 187 people do eight hours a day, five days a week and 52 weeks a year at a time when we are increasing the size of our military armaments and expanding the defense budget to $58 billion," Collier added.

Federal Government Should Not Insure Private Pension Plans

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) has pointed out the obvious weakness of the proposal to establish a federal "reinsurance" program for private company pension plans.

This proposal, while it sounds good to those whose only concept of "security" is blind faith in the federal government, actually could penalize the very people it is designed to protect.

The NAM in a statement to the Senate Finance Committee declared that "insuring private pension plans against the inability to pay promised benefits amounts to insuring against business failure, which is an uninsurable risk."

Since the secretary of health, education and welfare would establish the premium rates to be paid to cover "investment loss" risk, NAM states, "there would be no effective deterrent to excessive risk-taking, the burden of which falls on the vast majority of soundly financed pension plans."

The NAM agreed with Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz that a federal program would require minimum standards covering funding, investment, management and other practices. But it disagrees emphatically with the labor secretary on the effect of such supervision. The NAM feels strongly that the restrictions would inhibit the flexibility which has been the primary factor enabling the system to meet the needs of widely varying employe groups and their employers.

While the development and improvement of private pension plans to establish adequate benefits for retired workers should be encouraged, the NAM feels that the proposed legislation would not only act as a deterrent to these objectives, but could result in a reduction of benefits.

It feels that sound business firms, with adequate pension programs, would in effect be forced to subsidize shaky enterprises, to the detriment of all.

It's just another application of the Marxist-Socialist principle of penalizing the productive to protect the inefficient.

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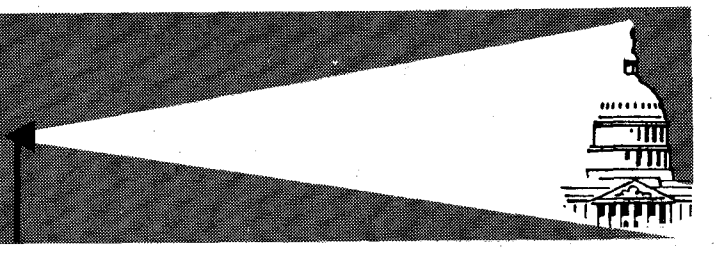

Record of the 89th Congress

Since the 89th Congress has adjourned, this will be the last "Spotlight on Congress" section for this year. This week we present a rundown on some of the major bills enacted or debated in the second session. Most of President Johnson's legislative requests were passed, but there were a few conservative victories despite the fact that the House had 294 Democrats and only 139 Republicans and the Senate 67 Democrats and 33 Republicans. These lopsided margins provided LBJ with much of his "Great Society" program, although many House votes squeaked through by the slimmest of margins.

Hopefully, many of the liberal freshmen who provided these victory margins will not be returned to office and the 90th Congress will be more balanced when it convenes in January. At that time, "Spotlight on Congress" will resume.

The 89th Congress passed into history on October 22, having tampered more with the American social and economic fabric than perhaps any other in history. The second session of that Congress was less active than the first session, which saw such radical schemes as Medicare, the "War on Poverty," federal control of voting and drastic coinage "reform" come into being.

Nonetheless, 1966 saw Congress pass a number of bills which erode traditional federal-state relationships and increase federal control over the economy. However, a few pet LBJ projects failed to pass.

AGRICULTURE

• The Food for Peace Act of 1966 extends the existing foreign food aid program for two years at an annual cost of $2.5 billion. The President had sought a five-year program with annual expenditures of $3.3 billion. The House had written into the bill a flat ban on aid to nations trading with North Viet Nam or Cuba, but reversed itself in the press for adjournment. The bill awaits LBJ's signature.

EDUCATION and WELFARE

• Both the House and Senate have passed slightly differing bills to aid elementary and secondary schools in low-income areas. Major change in the program is to raise the annual cost of the program to $3.7 billion in fiscal 1968. The conference compromise bill, however, contains language prohibiting the "bussing" of students to achieve racial balance and also prohibits the commissioner of education from deferring federal funds from school districts accused of non-compliance with anti-discrimination laws without an express finding of non-compliance.

• Aid to colleges and universities increased; $4.1 billion over a three-year period will be used for building construction, student loans and loans to the colleges.

• Federal standards for motor vehicle safety, to take effect with 1968 models, are already law. A three-year, $322-million program for highway safety is also law; any state which has not established a federally approved highway safety program by the end of 1968 faces a loss of 10 per cent of its federal highway construction funds.

• LBJ's "Teacher Corps," which provides for U.S.-paid teachers to work in ghetto areas, was included in the appropriations for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The President had asked for $31.4 million to run the program, but got only $7.5 million. There will be an opportunity next year for a more conservative Congress to kill this program before it really gets going.

• In 1965 Congress authorized the controversial rent supplements program, but refused to appropriate funds for it. This year, $32 million for a two-year program just barely squeezed through both houses with a provision that local officials could veto any rent supplement project not located in an urban renewal area. Although the Administration had requested $65 million, the measure is still a glaring example of federal intrusion into the private sector. This is another program which could be stopped before it reaches full bloom.

• The "War on Poverty" (Office of Economic Opportunity), probably LBJ's most grandiose "Great Society" program to date, had some rough going in the House, but finally passed, 210 to 156. The Senate passed it 49 to 20, after cutting down the proposed figure to $1.75 billion from $2.5 billion. The "War on Poverty" is a combination of several programs such as the Job Corps, Community Action Programs, Headstart and the "Domestic Peace Corps." Some restrictions were written into the poverty bill, including a proviso that no OEO funds would go to anyone involved in a riot or civil disturbance (see *Human Events*, Oct. 15, 1966, page 13).

• One of President Johnson's most radical proposals, and probably the most blatantly intrusive measure in recent years, is the $1.2-billion "demonstration cities" bill, calling for the elimination of urban slums, federal planning, etc. What cities will "participate" or how many, is not known; the program would be administered under the Department of Housing and Urban Development, headed by Robert Weaver. The bill has passed both the House and Senate and awaits the presidential pen.

• The "truth-in-packaging" bill, sponsored by Sen. Philip Hart (D.-Mich.), was approved in its basic form by the Senate. The bill, in addition to banning deceptive labeling, also would have set federal standards for weights and sizes at the discretion of the secretary of commerce. The House, however, refused to go along with the weight and size restrictions, and in conference the Senate had to accept the House version of the bill, which was far more mild than the Administration wanted.

FOREIGN POLICY

• Congress appropriated $2.94 billion for military and economic aid to foreign countries for the fiscal year 1967, some half-billion dollars less than the President requested. Congress retained its authority to review foreign aid on an annual basis; the Administration wanted five-year authority for both military and economic programs. In its final form, the foreign aid bill contained a ban on aid to countries allowing shipping to North Viet Nam and Cuba.

• The House passed a bill making it a federal crime to obstruct military movements or aid groups such as the Viet Cong by a 275-to-64 rollcall vote. The bill was introduced by Rep. Joe Pool (D.-Tex.) and reflected House disaffection with the Viet Nam war protesters. Because the Senate did not take up the measure, the Pool bill died and will have to be brought up again next session.

• Thanks to opposition from conservatives, the Senate has for the time being shelved plans to bring up the Administration-backed consular treaty with the Soviet Union, which would have resulted in establishing Soviet consulates in various U.S. cities. A two-thirds vote would have been necessary to ratify the treaty, a virtual impossibility in an election year with a war going on.

DEFENSE

• Congress appropriated a near-record $58.1 billion for the Department of Defense on October 11 after a long House-Senate hassle over reserve call-up procedures. Congress again rejected Defense Secretary McNamara's proposed Army Reserve-National Guard merger by writing language into the appropriations bill stipulating such a merger be approved by Congress. Congress also authorized President Johnson to call up some 789,000 members of the ready reserve if needed. While the President already has the authority to do this, he must first declare a national emergency. Despite the massive $58.1-billion defense money bill, observers say a supplemental $10 to $15 billion will be requested in early 1967 to defray costs of the Viet Nam war.

TAXES, ECONOMY

• Congress enacted two tax bills in the second session to meet Viet Nam war costs and to counter inflation. Early in the year Congress increased the withholding rate on personal income taxes, restored recently reduced telephone and auto excise taxes, and provided for speeded-up collection of corporation taxes. At the close of the session, Congress, at the Administration's request, suspended for one year the 7 per cent investment tax credit on purchase of new machinery or equipment by manufacturers.

• In one of organized labor's few victories in Congress this year, both the House and Senate passed a new minimum wage of $1.60 per hour, compared with the present minimum of $1.25. An additional seven million workers were covered and minimum wage coverage was extended to farm workers. Organized labor had wanted a $1.75 minimum, but the $1.60 figure (to take effect in 1968) is now law.

• Perhaps the most dramatic example of holding the line against the LBJ-Big Labor alliance was the failure of Congress to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows states to enact their own right-to-work laws. Although the House passed 14b repeal in 1965, a Senate filibuster in that year killed it. This year the Senate tried again, but Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) provided the leadership to stave off cloture, thus handing President Johnson one of the few legislative defeats he has suffered in his long career. LBJ has already promised to try repeal again next year.

• An Administration effort to impose federal standards for unemployment compensation died on the vine. Although an unemployment compensation bill was passed by both houses, the House approved a watered-down bill eliminating federal standards. The Senate put the standards back in, but the House did not agree to a conference until October 12 and by then the adjournment rush was on. This bill will also be brought up in the 90th Congress.

• A Cabinet-level Department of Transportation is now law, although no one has yet been named to head it. The bill passed both houses; a primary change from the Administration bill was that the Maritime Administration was excluded from the bill.

• The Congress passed the Participation Sales Act, authorizing the government to pool certain assets resulting from loan repayments and to sell shares in these assets to the public. The move increases federal spending and hides the deficit, since the money received by the government does not appear in the budget. Initial shares were to be sold in $5,000 lots, but in September the Treasury Department cancelled the sale of certificates until further notice in order not to put more pressure on the money market or increase even further the already high interest rates.

GOVERNMENT

• The Administration suffered a major defeat when the Civil Rights Act of 1966 died in the Senate. The bill would have provided federal control of juries, protection for civil rights workers and, most important, "open housing" for some 40 per cent of the nation's dwelling units. The House had passed the bill with a modified "open housing" section that would exempt individual homeowners and rooming houses from Title IV of the bill (the housing section). However, Sen. Dirksen, again rising to battle, announced his opposition to the bill in the Senate and twice attempts to invoke cloture were defeated. Thus, the bill is dead for this session.

• In 1965 widely differing measures passed the House and Senate for home rule for the District of Columbia, and the home rule issue stayed in conference throughout 1966. An attempt by Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) to tack the House-passed home rule bill onto the $4.1-billion higher education bill was tabled. Given the probability of a less liberal Congress next year, home rule is also not expected to pass the House in the near future.

• One of President Johnson's surprise proposals in his 1966 State of the Union message was a four-year term for House members, beginning in 1972 and concurrent with presidential elections. Despite a flurry of early interest in the bill, heavy opposition quickly became apparent and although hearings have been held in both chambers, no action has been taken, nor is expected to be.

• Two constitutional amendments failed to gain the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate for passage. Sen. Everett Dirksen introduced an amendment permitting the states to apportion one house of their legislatures on factors other than population. The amendment was aimed at modifying the Supreme Court's "one-man, one-vote" decision requiring population to be the sole factor in determining state legislative districts. The amendment was defeated by the same margin in 1965. Dirksen had also introduced an amendment authorizing local authorities to permit voluntary prayer in public schools and buildings. This measure also lost, but by a margin of nine votes.

Such was the record of the 89th Congress in 1966.

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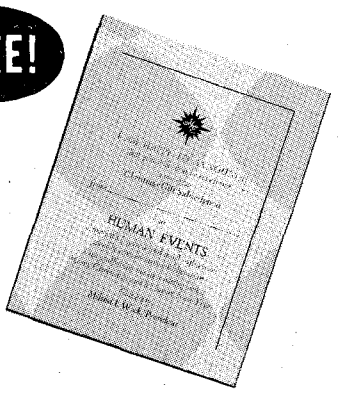

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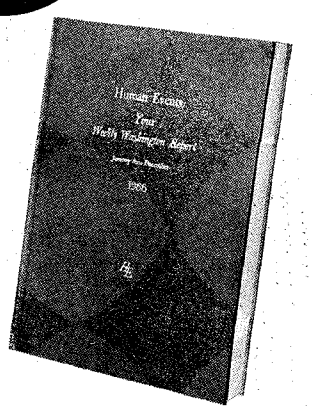

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